

JPRS-NEA-93-069
25 May 1993

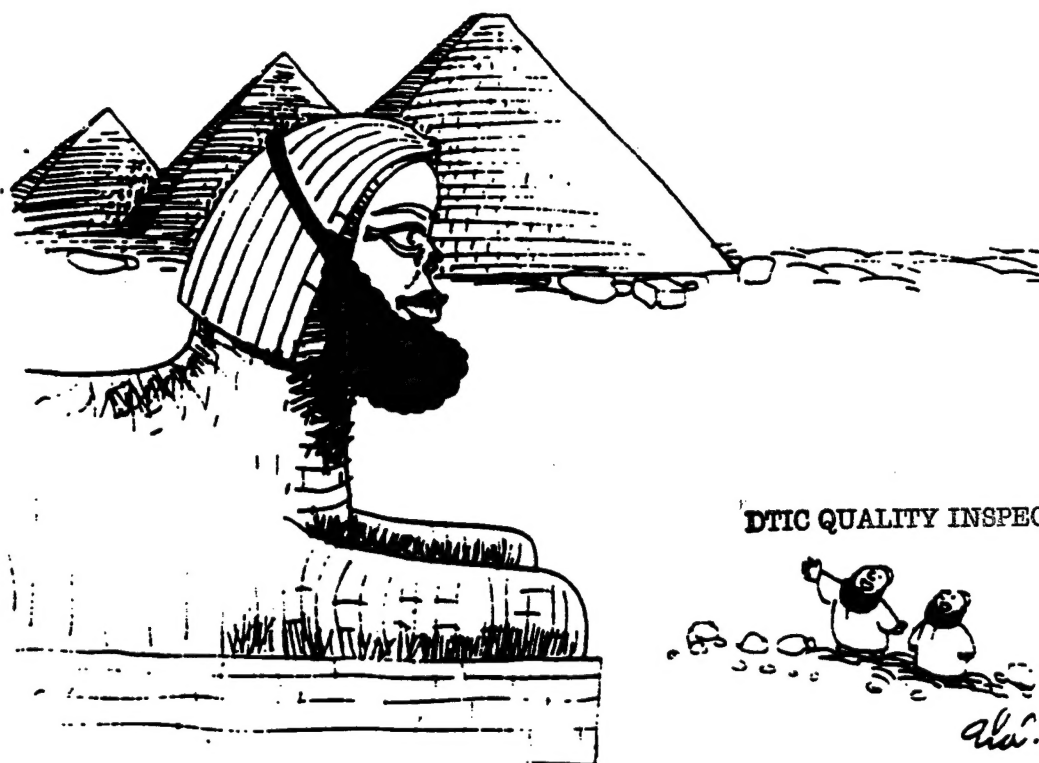


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Near East & South Asia

***EGYPT:
Islam and Extremism***

REPRODUCED BY
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

Near East & South Asia

EGYPT:

Islam and Extremism

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Security Situation Assessed; Actions Detailed

93AF0497A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
19 Mar 93 p 4

[Text] Yesterday, Egyptian security forces unearthed in al-Sharqiyah Governorate, east of Cairo, a new secret organization involving 150 suspects, 60 of whom have fled.

Security forces have also seized large amounts of explosives, including some labeled "TNT."

Three secret warehouses for storing weapons and live ammunition were also discovered.

Amongst members of this organization are university professors, teachers, physicians, engineers and four lawyers. Yesterday, amid strong security precautions, the office of the State Security Prosecutor started its investigation of 50 of the suspects. Under the supervision of Judge Muhsin Mabruk, the team of investigators include Hashim Hammudah and Yasir Rifa'i and some members of the Security Prosecutor's office. The prosecutors filed different charges against the defendants including the forming and directing of a secret opposition organization that aims at toppling the government, the possession of weapons and ammunition without permit for use in ways that endanger the country's security and disrupt its stability, and possessing leaflets that invoke hatred for the governing regime.

Prosecutors gave orders to the secret service to quickly arrest and turn in the 60 suspects who fled during the arrest operation.

In the village of Damallu, near the city of Banha in al-Qalyubiyah Governorate close to the Egyptian capital, Cairo, security forces have also discovered a weapons' factory containing eight locally made weapons, five gun cartridges, a large number of bullets and some materials used in manufacturing weapons and ammunition.

The factory's owner, Taj Ibrahim Muhammad, 60, admitted that he was selling weapons to extremists and outlaws. At the same time that the extremists' weapons factory was discovered, security forces in Qina discovered a gang that forged family and personal identity cards and passports for use by the suspects to flee the country during the recent events.

Investigators arrested an employee at one of Qina's water companies who has been found responsible for forging the identity cards found with the extremists. Major General 'Abd-al-Halim Musa, interior minister, ordered the arrest of this employee, along with other members of his gang.

Meanwhile, tomorrow the High Military Court will resume the trial of 49 of those accused of damaging tourism and the national economy as well as disturbing public safety. Previously, the Court had decided to postpone the trial to allow the defense to review the case's 2,000-page file.

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 7 Apr 93 p 5



Responsible agencies in the armed forces are presently considering a demand filed on behalf of all the defendants by one of them requesting their transfer from Liman Turah prison to a military one. In the first court session for the trial of the extremists, one of the defendants, Hisham 'Abd-al-Zahir, 35, who had a previous 10-year sentence for taking part in the assassination of the Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, confessed that he had been responsible, along with his colleagues, for both the assassination of al-Sadat, Dr. Raf'at al-Mahjub, former speaker of the People's Assembly, and Dr. Faraj Fudah, as well as for attempting to assassinate Major General Zaki Badr, former interior minister.

Standing in the holding cage, the defendant declared in a statement that he read to Egyptian journalists and representatives of foreign news agencies that he and his group belonged to the al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, and that their leader was Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman—presently residing in the United States—whose fatwas they followed. He added that the al-Jama'ah was hitting tourists and tourism as a goal and part of the strategy to damage the Egyptian national economy, topple the regime and rise to power.

At the same time, Egyptian security authorities arrested 69 Sudanese at al-Sallum entry post after they had infiltrated by way of Libya. Seven of the Sudanese requested political asylum in Egypt and said that they had fled al-Bashir's regime. Security agencies found out that the suspects had been trained in Iran to perform acts of violence in Egypt.

Related to this issue, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak received a report prepared by security agencies detailing the Sudanese regime's involvement in recent terrorist events in Egypt.

In another move, security authorities in Alexandria succeeded in arresting 621 extremists who had fled neighboring governorates. 120 of the arrested were turned in to the State Security Prosecutor's office for investigation.

Interior Minister Major General Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa will submit a comprehensive security report that will be discussed by the Egyptian Cabinet in its meeting next week. This report will review recent security developments in Egypt since 1 January 1993, especially the events of the last three weeks. These events came as a result of the extremists groups stepping up their activities and performing 10 acts of violence, especially the two incidents involving explosives at al-Tahrir Square.

In this coming meeting, the Cabinet will discuss a proposal to establish a special fund for all required financial allocations that would be allotted to confront terrorism and provide security agencies with their needs. The fund would also give suitable financial compensation to the families of police and security force officers who are killed by the extremists groups during severe security encounters with them. The Cabinet also will

discuss the positions of a number of Egypt's neighbors, especially the countries that security information asserted were providing help and certain facilities to members of extremists groups. The Cabinet also will discuss all measures for safeguarding Egypt's borders, especially the southern borders, in order to stop the infiltration of extremists. Raiding local weapons and ammunition factories is also an item on the Cabinet's agenda.

Intensive security raids are being carried out to eliminate members of extremists groups. Moreover, in the last two days since information was received about some extremists fleeing the cities of Asyut Governorate because of intensive security raids on their shelters and hiding places, large numbers of security forces were assigned to the suburbs of Imbabah, Ayn Shams and Bulaq al-Dakrur in the cities of Cairo and al-Jizah. In addition, traps are once again widespread in the streets and squares of Cairo.

In other measures, the Interior Ministry escalated the state of alert, canceled officers' and soldiers' leave, and decided to tighten security measures for guarding police centers and stations after it received information that since a number of these groups' members have fallen—especially during recent events in Asyut—some of their members were ready to commit vengeful and suicidal acts by attacking police centers.

Meanwhile, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT learned that Egypt and Pakistan are in communication regarding getting information about some of these groups' members who are residing in the city of Peshawar in Pakistan, especially the seven fugitive suspects who received the death penalty from a military court in the case of the Afghan-Egyptian organization. The two countries are also communicating about the possibility of having a security treaty for the exchange of information and surrender of suspects. In another move, Egyptian Education Minister Husayn Kamil Baha'-al-Din said that he would resolutely confront current efforts by extremists groups to penetrate and gain control of schools by enforcing the wearing of the veil on students and teachers, showing religious videos that have not been approved by the ministry, and delivering religious sermons inside schools.

In yesterday's meeting of the Assembly's Education Committee, the minister said that the extremists groups had a plan to penetrate schools, universities, and institutions and that he had issued a few decrees during the last two years to suspend scores of teachers and students, Muslim and Christian, who demonstrated religious extremism.

The education minister said that he would use all of his constitutional powers to confront extremist groups that try to show off their strength by opposing the state's legal authority.

Baha'-al-Din further expressed his deep regret that some teachers were members of the terrorist organizations and

some were among the suspects in the cases—presently being viewed by military courts—of striking against tourism and assaulting foreign tourists.

The education minister criticized the way local leaders in the city of Qalyub reacted to recent actions he took in the city when he decided to expel four female students and suspend a female teacher after the ministry's investigations found them guilty of circulating an unauthorized cassette tape that invoked hatred for Christians. The minister further believed that the leadership served the local and personal good instead of that of the public.

Abu Tij's Amir Details Jama'ah's Strategies

93AF0509A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic
15 Apr 93 p 3

[Interview with Jamil Husayni Mutawalli, former al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah leader, by Ahmad Musa and Hisham al-Zayni; date and place not given]

[Text] This repentant amir, Jamil Husayn Mutawalli, spent 13 years in the ranks of terrorist organizations, and gradually rose from al-Jama'ah ranks to become the Amir of Abu Tij, the quiet city that once was a granary during the Pharaohs era. Suddenly this town turned into a military garrison when the terrorists assassinated Major General al-Shimi. Three months ago, when Jamil became certain that the terrorist al-Jama'ah's objective is to spill blood, and became aware of the grave dangers the represent, he declared his repentance. We went to see him at his house, where he revealed to us what goes behind the scenes of terrorism. The terrorists harbor revenge against the security men because they are the only people who resist their diabolic plans, he said.

Joining al-Jama'ah brotherhood was not difficult for Jamil. What prompted him to join them, he said, was his appreciation that these people strictly observe prayer duties. Before the October 1981 incidents, specifically in late 1979, he began to frequent the Golden Corner Mosque in the town of Abu Tij. The country soon began witnessing strange incidents, with the assassination of late President al-Sadat and its consequences that have led to the "defeat" and weakening of al-Jihad organization. In 1986, Jamil left for Iraq where he stayed for one year, after which he went back to his town.

Following his return, strange things happened, about which Jamil Husayn Mutawalli said: "I was surprised that the amir of Abu Tij, Hani Mahjub, asked me to join al-Jama'ah, whose ranks and early nucleus have been established. I got out of the dilemma I found myself in. Despite my feelings that the "Brotherhood" group operated differently since the assassination of al-Sadat, I immediately joined al-Jihad group and became involved in Islamic advocacy and religious lessons in Shaykh al-Mansur Mosque, the organization's present bastion. Because I am an Arabic language graduate from the Teacher's College, I scored well in speeches and lessons. I have always made my speeches relevant to events, and I attacked the state because of the developments then.

My popularity among the people rose, and I was promoted to the position of controller of the body that advocated doing good deeds and shunning evil. These were my earliest impressions of the group. I then became the amir of the town of Abu Tij, and I implemented Shaykh al-Ghazali's teachings and got involved in the revival of the science of religion, particularly the section concerning doing good deeds and shunning evil. This concerns the definition of ideas, rebukes, threats, and initiating threats. But I never reached the stage of making threats during preaching.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] Why did you give up the position of amir of Abu Tij?

[Mutawalli] (Speaking firmly) I assumed the amirate after Hani Mahjub following the differences that broke out between me and the Consultative Council of the organization. 'Abd-al-Hamid Mahmud, the general amir of al-Jama'ah in Asyut, charged me with me with assuming the amirate. But I was surprised by the elements of the military wing that carried out sabotage operations, with strikes against tourists and the intimidation of our innocent guests. I had long discussions with them, urging them to desist from acts of terrorism. I told them that tourists are not combatants and that religion bans unjust killing. I have tried to convince every one of them that what they are doing is wrong. Their response was, "We are doing this in order to put pressure on the government." [end Mutawalli]

He was silent for a while, as if he was recalling a tragic scene. Then he said:

[Mutawalli] I was transferred from my town, where I was working as an Arabic teacher for the village of 'Arrabah Abidus, in al-Bilina township in Suhaj Governorate.

I was horribly shocked when tourists were shot at in Asyut and when the British tourist woman was killed. This incident has harmed the poor people who earn their living from tourism in archeological sites. And so I took my suitcase and went to Abu Tij. I decided to leave the organization. I had many problems with a number of [organization] officials because of my insistence on the need to stop striking out at Egypt's guests, but the leadership insisted on carrying on with their operations that are causing damage to the national economy.

I gave up my position as the amir of Abu Tij. I used to defend al-Jama'ah when they were accused of striking at tourists. I did not believe that they would do this, and so I was surprised by their announcement through the press that they were responsible for these crimes.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] How are actions carried out in the organization?

[Mutawalli] Every official has responsibilities. There is a general amir for every governorate and an amir for every town and another in every village. There is an official responsible for education and one for the Islamic call. The task of each one of them is as follows:

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p 31



- The general amir is responsible for ideological affairs and the Islamic call plans in all the areas. He has the right to take instant decisions without having to refer to the official responsible for Upper Egypt. The amir of the district, the town, or the village has the same duties, with varying differences between the locations and the decision they take.
- The official responsible for speech-making and making preparations for the celebration of the various religious occasions and holidays. He should be steeped in jurisprudence and the shari'ah and has a broad religious culture. He should be persuasive and capable of influencing people in order to gradually recruit them to work in the organization.
- The official responsible for education brings the organization members together and guides them on a single unified cultural path. He controls promotions in the educational stages which are similar to scholastic years. Nobody interferes in their operations.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] What role does the military wing which is responsible for the terrorist crimes play?

In response to this question, Jamil Mutawalli revealed an important side of the organization's work. He said, Members of the military wing are known only to the senior official in Cairo who personally controls the selection of these elements with care. Information about

a prospective organization member in any of the different branches is sent [to Cairo] in order to nominate an individual, who should be physically strong. After being recruited, he is subjected to brainwashing, and as soon as he receives the necessary dose, he becomes obedient and ready to carry out orders and implement assassination or sabotage missions.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] Who is on the organization's consultative council, and what is the council's tasks?

[Mutawalli] The council includes about 15 amirs who represent the general amir of the province, the towns, and the villages. There are no [group] members among them. [as published] They discuss the situation in the organization, lay down future plans, agree on the strategic objectives, and issue rulings on matters that require a ruling.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] Would you describe for us how elements of the military wing escaped after committing their crimes?

[Mutawalli] We do not know where they sleep. Usually each individual does his own thing, in the manner he deems fit. Meetings take place during prayer time in the mosques that belong to the organization's elements. When attacks were being carried out against citizens and music bands, meetings used to take place in Shaykh Mansur Mosque, where the man responsible for them would order them to disappear immediately. The amir cannot stop these groups from carrying out their missions because its members have a stronger argument and are capable of putting pressure on their amir. Often the escapees sleep for several hours anywhere, usually after the evening prayer and until just before dawn prayer. Some sleep on the floor, or on newspapers, and others, after despairing of finding a home, spend the time walking the streets. For example, when the security forces were searching for Ahmad Khalil, he went to his house and his mother and sister sat on the balcony and watched the streets for any unusual movement, so that he would not be caught while he slept for a few hours.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] How are relations between al-Jama'ah and the Muslim Brotherhood?

[Mutawalli] All the organizations emanated from under the Muslim Brotherhood's cloak, including al-Jihad, al-Tawaqquf, al-Tabayyun, and al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah. But these organizations adopted a policy contrary to the Brotherhood's ideas and have been inclined to accuse the ruler and all the officials of infidelity. This line is quite contrary to the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood, despite the fact that they all stand in the same trench. But the Brotherhood has nothing to do with what's happening in the arena these days.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] What about money and arms?

In response, Mutawalli attacked many members who spent their private money on financing the organization. He mentioned in particular Ramadan Isma'il, who is in charge of the military wing in al-Badari. He used up all his property in order to finance his colleagues in the organization, including financing the incidents [disturbances] that took place, which have cost a great deal. "These incidents cost large amounts of money and have been a burden on the organization," he said. Groups are assigned to collect alms and donations, particularly on occasions and during feasts, in order to spend them on projects to build mosques. A considerable part of this large amount of money is spent on publicity, and the remainder is saved for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Also, assassination attacks against church guards and checkpoints are carried out with the aim of stealing arms from the soldiers.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] Has the law on terrorism affected the availability of arms?

Revealing a surprise, Mutawalli said that the fear that the law on terrorism will be applied against those who possess arms has driven many families that were in possession of large quantities of automatic weapons to get rid of them and sell them cheaply. This has given al-Jama'ah members the opportunity to buy large quantities of arms for small amounts of money.

Regarding al-Jama'ah members who joined recently and their type of people, Jamil said that things are different today. "The old groups used to comprise of the elite religious thinkers, most of whom are in jail today. They include Ahmad 'Abduh Musallam and Mahmud Shu'ayb. As for the present generation, they are a bunch of cart drivers and ignoramus in matters of religion. They know nothing about religion, and they are not intellectually or religiously cultured. These include Shadid al-Qaffas ['Abd-al-Rahim Hasan 'Ali], 'Abid Faruq, Ahmad Khalil, 'Abd-al-Rahim 'Abbas, and Munir Mustafa Muhammad. The latter is the current al-Jama'ah's Amir in Abu Tij. All of them are ignorant in matters of religion as their teacher 'Shaykh' Hani described them."

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] What about the recent incidents in Abu Tij?

Mutawalli expressed sorrow and dismay over the crime that occurred and that shocked the citizens. "First, because martyr Major General al-Shimi was popular among the town's inhabitants. He never spared an effort to be courteous to the city inhabitants. He was always keen on praying in the mosque. It is strange that Maj. Gen. al-Shimi, who was a senior officer, used to walk in the midst of citizens without security protection or an armored car. He relied on the love he has sown in the people's heart. Secondly, the strange thing was that I was interrogated by the security regarding implications of the incident.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] Was the proclamation of repentance by a number of the organization's amirs in

different parts of Egypt and their surrendering to the authorities due to a rift in the ranks?

[Mutawalli] What happened was tantamount to a sedition within al-Jama'ah, but the amirs' reaction was one of indifference and nonchalance. Rather, they immediately appointed new amirs. But the proclamation of my repentance had a deep impact on Abu Tij's inhabitants. Some fathers of the organization members whom I have recruited urged their sons not to join the organization, particularly because I quit the organization's amirate in protest against their barbarian behavior toward citizens and the killing of tourists.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] What kind of work did you do, and what kind of contacts did you maintain with your bosses?

[Mutawalli] I used to visit the coffee shop and the hamlets to make sure that everything was alright and that there were no problems hampering the work of the organization members. I held meetings with the area's amirs in one of the mosques in order to discuss the situation, check their financial state, and discuss the Islamic call affairs and the question of recruiting new members. Former Abu Tij Amir Hani Mahjub used to ignore these things, and this led to a rift in the organization's ranks. The consultative council felt that the amir was ignoring the council members. As the clash developed, the council decided to depose him. Then I held an evening advisory meeting in order to enlighten the young al-Jama'ah members in an attempt to reconcile the situation. But the evening turned into one of altercations and hurling accusations against the ones in al-Jama'ah who were responsible, namely Hani Mahjub and 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abbas. The meetings continued for three successive days, during which Hani Mahjub was tried by a court consisting of 15 "senior people." But I was surprised when I became the subject of investigation and trial because I allegedly caused the mutiny and failed to adhere to al-Jama'ah's general policy. During the trial before an investigator from the organization's leadership in Asyut, I defended myself. But the investigator asked me to confess my mistake. He fined me 100 pounds and fined Hani 25 pounds.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] What is al-Jama'ah's relationship with al-Jihad Mufti 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman?

Mutawalli admitted that Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman is the actual and spiritual amir of all of the extremist organizations in Egypt. Telephone contacts have taken place between him and the [organization] officials, and they exchange audio cassettes by various means.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] Will the terrorist operations stop or gradually die down?

[Mutawalli] On the basis of my 13 years experience with al-Jama'ah I can say that the clash will continue and will probably become even more violent than it is now. There is a need for revenge between the security authorities and the al-Jama'ah that nobody can stop at present at least.

The killing of Shadid al-Qaffas was followed by a calm period. But at that time, I told an official of the local People's Assembly that al-Jama'ah were not thinking of killing an informer or a soldier in Abu Tij. Indeed, they were preparing for a major strike that would turn things upside down in the heart of the city. This was what happened when Maj. Gen. al-Shimi and other police aides were killed.

[AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI] Is there contact between the leadership members inside the jails and the elements outside on matters of planning acts of terrorism?

[Mutawalli] According to my information, contacts do take place between the detained al-Jama'ah leaders and their assistants who are free. They might not be taking place directly, but probably during the various visits, during which arrangements would be made to carry out the assassination of certain personalities. h1

Former Jihad Leader Discusses Extremist Organization

93LD0016F Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
22-28 Apr 93 p 5

[Shadin Shihab and Jaylan Halawi speak to Jamil Husayn Mutawalli]

[Text] Jamil Husayn Mutawalli, an Arabic language teacher and ex-member of the Muslim Brotherhood, became involved with al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah in 1979. He rejected their violent activities and gave himself up to the police nearly three months ago, saying that he was no longer a member. Mutawalli is in his twenties and bears none of the "trademarks" of al-Jama'ah members. He sports a moustache but no beard, and wears a shirt and jeans, not a galabiya.

After Mutawalli came back from Iraq, where he went to work during his third year in the Faculty of Education, he was introduced to Shaykh Hani Mahjub, the then Emir of Abu-Tij al-Jama'ah. Shaykh Mahjub told Mutawalli about a group called al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, which was to undertake a special mission. Later, close friends of Jamil took him to an informal Jama'ah meeting.

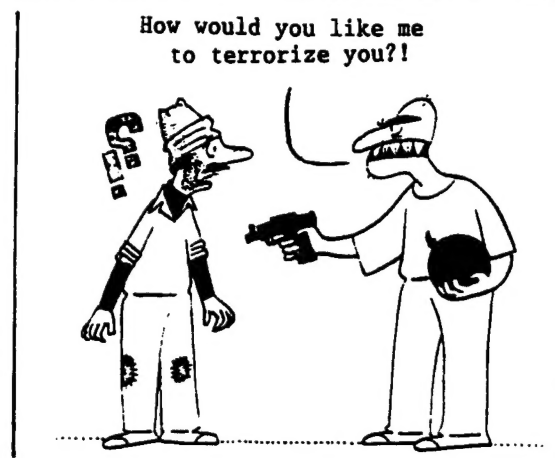
"The first formal meeting was in a zawya (small mosque). A lecture was given. I found it normal to talk about religion." Jamil said that he grew closer to the others after several meetings—"until I found myself a member of al-Jama'ah."

As an Arabic teacher, Mutawalli was chosen to give speeches and lectures. "I was very good at this and became very popular." Soon after, he became al-Jama'ah's Emir in Abu-Tij. Mutawalli was against al-Jama'ah's practice of "enjoining the good and forbidding the evil." "Some of the members would fly into a rage, saying that wherever wrong (munkar) was being done, we had to stamp it out." According to Mutawalli, munkar can mean wedding ceremonies where men and women

mix and loud music is played, or a man and a woman sitting together without a chaperone.

"I would enforce discipline, but I did not like to use violence." He added that his understanding of "enjoining the good and forbidding the evil" differed from al-Jama'ah's. "It should come gradually. First we have to tell people what the good is. If they do not listen, threaten them a little. Force should not be used in the beginning." Mutawalli added that he was a thinking man, not a bully.

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 12 Apr 93 p 30



Two weeks after his appointment, Mutawalli was sent to teach in al-Balyana in Suhaj, which made it impossible for him to remain active in Abu-Tij's Jama'ah. Another member, Munir Mustafa Muhammad, too over.

"While I was in al-Balyana, I heard about the murder of the British woman. I could not believe that al-Jama'ah had done it. People at work argued with me about the accident and I assured them that al-Jama'ah would not do such a thing. Then I found out that they had claimed responsibility and said they would be behind any similar acts. I also found out that they had sent warnings to foreign countries advising their citizens not to visit Egypt."

Mutawalli returned to Abu-Tij. His successor requested that he refrain from talking to other members so as to avoid confusion, until he himself spoke to Jama'ah authorities who could explain the reasons behind the attacks on tourism. 'Abd-al-Hamid Muhammad Asyut's Emir, talked to Mutawalli but failed to convince him.

"I pleaded with them to stop killing tourists, who are visitors and guests in our country. We are destroying the economy and making people lose their jobs; but he matter-of-factly replied "hitting tourism is nothing but pressure on the government."

Mutawalli said that Jama'ah did not harm him when he broke away. In order to protect himself, he told police

officials that, if they demanded names or information, he would claim he knew nothing.

In general, "disputes among Jama'ah members revolved around differences of opinion concerning the Shari'ah," Mutawalli said. He explained that members would read different interpretations of the Shari'ah and argue about which to follow.

According to Mutawalli, the organisation of al-Jama'ah is hierarchical. An Emir is responsible for each governorate. There is an individual responsible for each city; the next rungs are occupied by the head of the markaz (centre) and the village official respectively; the latter in turn appoints an Emir in each small village. Finally, there is the educational official, the Da'wah official (the call to Islam) and Tarbiyah (discipline); with the military wing, they make up the Shura council. There is also a court for the trial of those who "have done something wrong." According to Mutawalli, the accused can usually buy off their acquittal.

Decision-making procedures vary. Quick decisions are made by the official responsible for the markaz, while more sensitive issues are discussed by the Shura council.

Mutawalli swore that even the Emir of Asyut does not know how the military wing operates. However, "probably the Cairo Emir asks each city Emir to nominate the member in his district most qualified to join.

The members nominated are brain-washed to the extent that if they were ordered to kill themselves they would," Mutawalli added. He said that the most important criterion was "blind obedience," and that those chosen for the military wing are usually illiterate and destitute. "These people will blindly execute orders." The members are almost all unemployed, and this is the main reason for their involvement.

Mutawalli said that weapons "are bought with money donated before al-Jama'ah became violent. The amounts collected could reach LE100 per person during feasts. Members also stole weapons from church guards they killed, and from security personnel." He added that wealthy Jama'ah members, like Shaykh Ramadan Isma'il (who lost all his money financing operations in Dayrut, and was arrested in al-Badari) also donated money.

Mutawalli noted that the police's most frequent questions pertained to where Jama'ah members spent the night, since arrests are usually made late at night. "No one really knows. We meet at Munir mosque (an al-Jama'ah-controlled mosque not owned by the Ministry of Awqaf) during prayers. Some people roam the streets until dawn prayers, and rarely does one member know where the others spend the night."

Mutawalli said that, as far as he knows, links between al-Jama'ah and 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman have been severed, "unless there are telephone calls and letters, which the government controls." He added that the Jama'ah "considers Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman as their godfather, not as the Emir, since he does not live in the country."

Mutawalli expressed his sorrow at the murder of Maj. Gen. al-Shimi and his assistants. "I feel very upset. The crime was very brutal. Al-Shimi was a religious man who did not harm anyone. He should have been better protected."

"Confrontation will not end between the government and al-Jama'ah unless there is a compromise on both sides," Mutawalli concluded.

He thinks that al-Jama'ah's recent acts of violence makes them unfit to rule according to Shari'ah. "Who will accept their regime? Young people are not only against al-Jama'ah, they are against religion in general."

Establishment of Pro-Terrorist Society Claimed

93LD0010C Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
5 Apr 93 p 74

[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb: "Society of Friends of Terrorism!"]

[Text] Until recently, we stubbornly insisted that the terrorist actions occurring in our country were merely the mischief of little boys who would stop misbehaving when their ears were pinched.

Only because of the terrorists themselves did we finally wake up to their dangerousness. After repeated terrible acts by them, we discovered that we had eradicated neither the roots nor even the branches of terrorism.

After this, it was a good thing for us to pay special attention to the foreign support the terrorist organizations were receiving, and we tried to cut the foreign supply lines of terrorism.

Unfortunately, this attention did not extend to the domestic scene or to the terrorists' domestic supply lines, which are more dangerous than the foreign supply lines.

There is now in our country a society that we can call "the society of friends or supporters of terrorism."

It is a society that was not formed by license from the ministry of Dr. Amal 'Uthman. Nevertheless, it is an international society. It carries on wide-scale activity and includes many prominent members, including holders of important official positions. Some of them support terrorism directly; others give it indirect support.

Some members of this dangerous society have ranted and raged and launched large-scale attacks on Dr. Husayn Kamil Baha'-al-Din because he had the courage to punish a school and three female students for fear of sectarian violence. This encouraged a school in Aswan to ask its students to stand for a minute of mourning for "those slain by terrorists" in the battle of al-Rahmah Mosque.

Some of them spread slogans to exonerate terrorists. For example, they accuse the police of planting arms and

explosives in terrorist hideouts after taking the terrorists in order to convict them—as if the death of policemen were merely play-acting!

Some of them constantly volunteer to mediate on behalf of terrorists to convince the authorities to stop prosecuting them or leave them alone—or turn over some mosques to them for conversion into arsenals of guns and explosives!

Some of them sharpen their pens in defense of terrorists. Or they speak their language on the media, repeat their ideas, and declare those who do not listen to them to be infidels.

All such people are members of the society of friends of terrorism. They support the terrorists directly and effectively.

Yet this society has other members who support the terrorists even more, though indirectly and though they proclaim their condemnation of terrorism.

They include the friends and lovers of Lucy [a prostitute whose affairs with former defense minister Abu-Ghazalah and other highly placed clients have become known as "Hookergate"] and of every Lucy, who have misused their influence. The terrorists have used them to distort the image of the government and society.

With them are others who may not know Lucy or any Lucy, but they know how to use their seats for illicit gain or to protect corruption.

They in particular are perhaps the most dangerous members of the society of friends of terrorism, because they give the terrorists the most help in enticing young people who are shocked by such rampant corruption.

Now we have no alternative but to dissolve this dangerous society, so that we can eliminate terrorism and protect ourselves from the terrorists. But dissolving this society requires from us many emergency operations, including unavoidable amputations. That is better than having the disease of terrorism spread to society's whole body. Regret will then be useless.

Security Forces Discover Weapons Factory

93AF0497B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 7 Apr 93 p 6

[Text] Security forces in the Egyptian Governorate of al-Isma'iliyah discovered at dawn yesterday a new fundamentalist organization aimed at assassinating high-ranking officials by bombing their homes in the governorate.

A security source told AL-HAYAH that during a raid in al-Isma'iliyah, police arrested six extremists who are members of the organization. Police seized a large number of leaflets signed by Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman (who resides in the United States). The leaflets demanded the overthrow of the ruling regime. Police also seized many maps, documents, and blueprints of top officials' houses, which the extremists planned to bomb while the residents were inside.

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 29 Apr 93 p 12

The Spread of Weapons Among the Citizenry



The source indicated that "terrorist Ahmad Majid, who was arrested at the town of Fa'id, near al-Isma'iliyah, three days earlier, guided security men to the men who were arrested."

He ascertained that "strict security measures were undertaken around the top officials' houses to prevent terrorists from reaching them and executing their plans."

In al-Qalyubiyah Governorate, security forces also discovered a weapons factory in the town of al-Khankah. Major General 'Adil Ma'tuq, chief of security, told AL-HAYAH that "the factory in which police seized a number of pistols and guns that were sold to terrorists was owned by Muhammad Shafiq 'Abd-al-Rahim."

Major General Ma'tuq indicated that security forces raided "the extremists' shelters and arrested 13 of them in the town of Shubra al-Khaymah" at dawn yesterday.

Raids

All through yesterday, security forces launched intensive raids on extremists' shelters in most cities of Asyut Governorate, especially the city of Asyut.

Major General Mansur al-'Isawi, senior assistant to the interior minister for Middle Egypt, said that "the raids target the arrest of 10 of the extremists' leaders who took part in most acts of terrorism that Asyut city witnessed lately."

He ascertained that as a result of the raids, seven extremists were arrested at dawn yesterday in the cities of Asyut and Dayrut.

The Muslim and Christian leadership in Asyut declared "full support of president Husni Mubarak and of his domestic and foreign policies and that they stood, unified, by him," thus indicating that "Asyut's residents were united."

This occurred at a seminar held yesterday in the Evangelical church at Asyut that was attended by Asyut Governor Hasan al-Alfi. In his speech, al-Alfi appealed to citizens "to gather around the national unity."

Professors and deans of al-Azhar and Asyut Universities and more than three thousand citizens of Asyut attended this meeting.

Major General 'Abd-al-Halim Musa, interior minister, also issued an order for the arrest of Khayri Muhammad 'Ali, a teacher in Tima, in Suhaj Governorate (Upper Egypt).

A security source said that security forces had arrested Khayri two weeks earlier as a suspect in the murder of two Christians, Kamil Tadrus Rufa'il and Rufa'il Habib Rufa'il. The prosecutor had released him as witnesses had failed to identify him.

Asyut Residents Discuss Security Situation

93LD0002B Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
8-14 Apr 93 p 2

[Text] The southern city of Asyut, the recent scene of violent clashes between security forces and Islamist militants, has begun to enjoy a relative calm. But is the calm deceptive? Shadin Shihab and Jaylan Halawi toured Asyut and neighbouring al-Badari, seeking an answer to this question.

"The situation is completely stable and under control," said Major General 'Abd-al-Hilali, head of the Asyut security department. "Every day is better than the day before it."

Claiming success in the confrontation with the Islamist militants, 'Abd-al-Hilali said this was due to the determination of the security forces and also to assistance provided by ordinary citizens.

'Abd-al-Hilali said that farmers in villages around Dayrut Manfalut and al-Qusiyah, have set up joint patrols with guards to look around for possible suspects. "Now they [the militants] know that if they attempt any act of violence, they will be shot on the spot," 'Abd-al-Hilali said. "The last incident was in a village called Bani Husayn when one of them tried shooting at tourists, but he was shot by police forces."

AL-AHRAM WEEKLY reporters who roamed the city to verify 'Abd-al-Hilali's claims did not encounter militants on the streets but found them inside a mosque called al-Rahman mosque, known to the locals as the Jama'ah mosque. There was no sign of a police presence on the street, also known as the Jama'ah street.

Two bearded men wearing galabiyas who entered the mosque around noon prayer time refused to talk to reporters. There were about 10 worshippers inside.

A Christian retailer of electrical appliances said: "Every Monday and Friday night, the Jama'ah meet in the Rahman mosque and announce anti-government slogans. They did that last Monday while police forces sat outside, listening. The only thing that has changed lately is that the Jama'ah members are not seen on the streets as often as before. They use backstreets to reach the mosque."

Other inhabitants of the area agreed that the situation was stable and quiet. But they refused to go into details. "We have children to raise," one of them said.

At al-Badari, al-Arwaq mosque is the gathering place for members of al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, who pray there and give religious lessons. The street outside was crowded. Many of the pedestrians were veiled women, some

wearing a black niqab (an Islamic dress covering a woman from her hair down to her toes, leaving only the eyes visible).

Although Shaykh Salah Ibrahim Husayn, the 45-year-old Imam of al-Arwaq Mosque, is not a member of the Jama' al-Ishmiyah, he sounded sympathetic with their cause and critical of the government. According to Shaykh Husayn, al-Jama'ah's main objective is the application of Islamic shari'ah (law). "They only pray, teach people how to recite the Holy Koran and give religious lessons to young people who need to know more about Islam," he said.

Shaykh Husayn blamed the latest confrontation on the government whose forces "entered mosques carrying guns and wearing shoes, carried out random arrests and tortured the innocent."

Husayn said that vengeance is part of their creed. "Should a cabinet minister shoot a relative of mine, I'd borrow a gun and shoot him," he said.

A 30-year-old member of al-Jama'ah said: "If a Muslim is deprived of his right to pray in a mosque in the holy month of Ramadan because the police are shooting at the mosque, then there should be a response from God's worshippers."

Another member warned that unless the government released their jailed colleagues, "there would be a serious and unified response against it."

Officials Comment on Explosives Trade

93LD0009B Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
8 Mar 93 pp 22-24

[Article by Hamdi Rizq, Wa'il al-Abrashi, and Karim Subhi: "Explosive Charges on Demand"]

[Text] When? The Friday evening before last.

Where? At Wadi al-Nil [Nile Valley] Cafe in al-Tahrir Square.

Who? Terrorists.

Why? To plant terrorism in Egypt, to destabilize the government, and to destroy tourism finally.

How? With an explosive charge?

But where is this charge, and when, how, and why?

More questions, and the detailed answers.

Question: Where does the al-Tahrir Cafe incident fall on the map of the radicals' terrorist operations? Is it a big new leap that forewarns of more perils?

Even though Major General 'Adil Baha'-al-Din, the assistant interior minister and the Criminal Evidence Agency director, asserts that the charge is a totally locally manufactured charge similar in structure to the explosive charge used in an attempt on the life of former

Interior Minister Zaki Badr and that the method of operation is not new, what is interesting is that they, meaning the radicals, succeeded in manufacturing the explosive charge and failed to detonate it in the first case whereas they succeeded in both manufacturing and detonating it in the second case. Baha'-al-Din noted that detonating the explosive charge at al-Tahrir Square Cafe was not an easy operation, contrary to reports published by some people. Rather, the operation proves that the radicals are trained and experienced in explosive charges and that they encompass educated people and intellectuals, including engineers, physicians, and chemists—a mixture of various professionals cooperating to attain the result we witnessed. Not everybody can manufacture an explosive charge. One has to be specialized and experienced in electrical connections to do it.

The Criminal Evidence Agency director asserts that the real danger lies in the ease with which the components of an explosive charge can be acquired, even though they consist of prohibited materials. The explosive charge which went off at al-Tahrir Square consisted of TNT, an extremely explosive substance—a prohibited substance that is produced only by a military plant and acquired by people licensed to quarry stones—and of an electric detonator which is tantamount to "tube" containing a very sensitive substance that touches off the extremely explosive substance as soon as it receives a spark. The explosive charge also included a battery to spark the detonator, a timer, exactly as in a refrigerator, and small nails. He has pointed out that all these components are available, marketed, and easy to acquire. Electric detonators are either stolen or obtained from quarry owners.

The assistant interior minister has emphasized that the al-Tahrir Square Cafe incident could have turned into a devastating catastrophe if the TNT volume had been large. The entire building could have collapsed, especially with the presence of three big butane gas cylinders in the coffee shop.

But what is the solution?

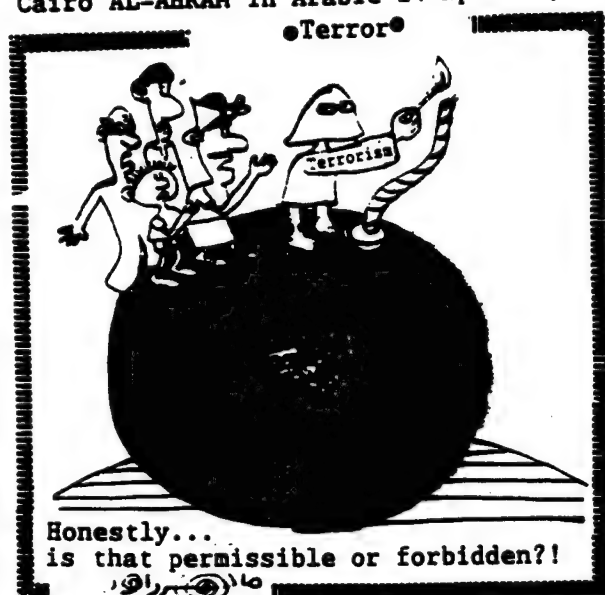
Maj. Gen. 'Adil Baha'-al-Din believes that the process by which explosives licenses are granted to owners of quarries and stone-crushing plants must be reviewed and a new system must be established to grant these licenses so that those who get them can be checked carefully and so they can be questioned from time to time in order to prevent explosive substances from being passed out to radicals through these licensees.

Moreover, stores and warehouses where such substances are kept should be secured, considering that radicals have robbed an explosives warehouse belonging to a military plant in Alexandria.

But how can one watch 120,000 citizens who work with dynamite and explosives?

They live in four areas next to Hulwan that are akin to villages or are very similar to popular quarters. They are more crowded than any Cairo suburb.

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 14 Apr 93 p 11



A total of 120,000 people whose livelihood and life depend on explosives [live here]. Not a single home in Tura (Kutsika), located on the cornice road in the direction of Hulwan, is free of an explosive charge or a land mine. It is not surprising to see children playing in with percussion caps in the streets.

This is how 40,000 people inhabiting Tura Kutsika live in constant familiarity with all kinds of explosives and why they are not greatly upset by the explosions that take place in the nearby Jabal Mayu and that leave their traces and their impact on the heart of the stone houses that are about to collapse on their inhabitants as a result of humidity, tremors, and too many children. One dawn two months ago, Kutsika moved to the top of list of dangerous villages, such as Adco, Dayrut, and, recently, al-Munirah al-Gharbiyah and Imbahah, when an urgent signal was received by the Interior Ministry in Lazughli emphasizing the presence of three tons of crude locally-manufactured dynamite in the storeroom of residence No. 14 on al-'Urubah Street, Nuwwarah Neighborhood, Kutsika, and that a very serious situation would develop if these explosives, which are enough to demolish one-half of Cairo or its southern suburb at least, were detonated intentionally or unwittingly.

The Kutsika operation lasted two hours during which the area lived in utter terror behind closed doors for fear of any retaliatory action by owners of the goods who could have blown up the entire area.

The outcome of the operation was three tons of crude nitrate salts, 20 kg of gelignite powder, 350 black ignition fuses, 400 locally-made paper fuses, a large number of white fuel oil jerricans which were enough to turn the nitrates into dynamite, Anfu brand. Each stick of this dynamite (15 grams) is enough to blow up a circular area

with a circumference of five meters on the ground and in the air. Even though al-Ma'adi intelligence men were able to execute a 100 percent flawless operation without igniting anything, not even a matchstick, and even though they came out happy with the loot and its owner, Kutsika inhabitants were not at all happy with this rapid intervention, with the arrest of Hajj Muhammad Hasanayn Sham'ah (35 years old), a well-known explosives trader, or with the confiscation of the goods which they consider the source of their livelihood and of their children's food. To put it in their words, "Our livelihood is in dynamite sticks. When they confiscate them, we go to the mountain and dig it up with our fingers."

The explosives trade in the area yields immense profits. It suffices to say that the price of Muhammad Hasanayn Sham'ah's goods exceeded three million pounds. This is why he fortified his home with an arsenal of weapons, with old gates, and with a dog the size of a horse. This dog had to be tied and immobilized before Sham'ah could be lured out of his home and arrested without any resistance, having been taken by surprise. What is surprising is that explosives traders are not the only ones who defend the trade. All the people of all five sections of Tura, numbering 120,000 people, are prepared to pay their life as the price of a single stick of dynamite.

Dynamite is the livelihood train which must pass in order that abundance may spread to all. Obstructing this train means ruination and hardship for thousands of families who are gladdened by the sounds of explosions in the mountain.

This is why the explosives trade has flourished in all five sections of Turrah under everybody's protection and why Turrah has become the Mecca of radicals and terrorists, not to mention quarry owners who come to the area's homes in search of a kilogram of dynamite which can be turned into 80 land mines (or more than 100 explosive charges similar to the one used in the Nile Valley Cafe) which are enough for an entire month's work, i.e., until an owner receives his quota from the Ministry of Defense. This quota is never enough for quarry owners.

Police sources estimate the dynamite trade volume at a half billion Egyptian pounds and say the explosives come from three main sources:

First, the quota of idled quarries that amounts to 20 kg of dynamite—gelignite—annually. This amount is enough to manufacture 2 tons of the locally-produced dynamite, Anfu brand. A kilogram of Anfu is enough to manufacture 80 land mines, each costing nearly 300 pounds when demand is low and 350 pounds when supply is low. The major part of these mines comes from retailers in al-Jizah and Manshiyat Nasir in al-Muqattam.

Second, plants and their middlemen who deal with explosives traders in these five areas, classified by the Defense Ministry as dangerous areas. This ministry constantly demands that these areas be cleaned up.

Third, the stores of weapons and explosives in past war zones, such as the Sinai. Sinai bedouins descend on the five areas with their imported high-quality goods that have not been touched or damaged.

This is the difficult part of the explosives trade. The easy part is manufacturing them. All that is required is a place hidden from the police, such as the Tura Kutsika graveyards which were chosen by Muhammad Sham'ah, the star of this report, as a site for his factory where a quantity of grenades, dynamite powder, nitrate salts, and a number of ready-to-sell dynamite sticks were found.

Again, how can such a widespread industry be confronted, especially since a new weapon has surfaced in the arena recently, namely Egyptian-style chemical weapons.

It seems that warnings by chemical research professors and experts cover a wide range, considering that 135 chemical compounds fit for use as explosives have been counted. They are marketed and they can be obtained easily, including 75 compounds used for industrial purposes, 45 for military purposes, and 15 for both military and industrial purposes.

Chemists demand that a ban be imposed on chemicals that have explosive qualities and that their marketing and sale be restricted, the same way poisons and narcotics are restricted, especially since these chemicals have become fundamental for civilian purposes, such as using them in mining minerals, in quarries, and in plants that crush rock, turning it into gravel to be in paving, building, and construction.

Radicals can get these chemicals which can be used as explosives from numerous sources:

- importers of chemicals used in tanning hides;
- producers of firecrackers who get their gunpowder from importers of chemicals;
- quarries that are allowed dynamite and TNT quotas in accordance with licenses from military plants.
- fishermen who purchase explosives from quarries to use them in catching fish with explosions, which is prohibited and illegal.
- from Sinai bedouins and others who are specialized in digging out mines and [unexploded] artillery and mortar shells.

Dr. Fikri 'Atallah 'Abd-al-Mahdi, a chemistry professor and researcher at the Ministry of Scientific Research, has stressed the "need to deal with chemicals that have explosive qualities cautiously and with stiffer penalties than those applied to narcotics and poisons because these chemicals are more destructive."

Dr. 'Atallah warns that an explosive charge could be the size of a box of matches and that radicals have the ability to determine the size of an explosive charge and the dimensions of its effects according to the objective they seek to accomplish with their terrorist operation. They may just seek to create confusion and to cause disturbance in crowded areas, such as movie theaters, train

stations, and markets. In this case, they use explosives and may seek only to start fires with inflammable substances and mixtures. They may fill charges with poisonous materials or microbes if their objective is to damage people's health. Finally, they may use highly-explosive substances, as in the case of al-Tahrir Cafe.

Dr. 'Atallah points out that the most significant thing accomplished by radicals is their ability to determine the time of explosion through the use of so-called delayed-timing devices. They use watches [or clocks] which are fitted in a simple way and which can set an explosion for 12 hours later. They have also become experienced in chemical delay devices which rely on the corrosion of certain substances with acids or with certain solvents. Corrosion time is exactly the time set for the delayed explosion.

They also use sophisticated electrical delay devices. These are the latest and most efficient devices because they are difficult to distinguish and identify.

Summing up dimensions of the catastrophe, Dr. 'Atallah said that explosives are tantamount to chemicals or mixtures of chemicals which have a (static energy) commensurate with their weight. When subjected to an external influence—a shock, a flame, a jolt, and so forth—these chemicals break up very rapidly, producing a large volume of gases which are released in the form of very intense flames with a very high temperature, more than 3,000 degrees centigrade, and an enormous pressure that spreads evenly in all directions.

Shura Council Debates Antiterrorism Report

93LD0003C Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
1-7 Apr 93 p 2

[Text] A report debated by the Shura Council this week has urged that the confrontation with terrorism should be comprehensive, covering the political, economic and social aspects of life in this country.

Politically, the report urged that the political parties should play a more effective role, attracting a larger number of young people to their ranks "so that all factions are absorbed under the umbrella of constitutional legality."

The report, drawn up by the Council's Arab and foreign affairs and national security committees, urged the government to reconsider its overall plan of public services to devote greater attention to impoverished areas, particularly in southern Egypt. Special attention should also be paid to the services extended to young people, the report said.

The report, which was debated on Monday and Tuesday, also urged the expansion of the radio and television networks, declaring that "factual information is an effective weapon in confronting terrorism."

In a survey of terrorist acts since the beginning of 1992, the report listed 92 incidents including 17 attacks on tourism, causing five deaths and 48 injuries.

There were also 21 attacks on Copts, which resulted in the killing of 22 persons, including four Muslims, and the injury of 22 others, including three Muslims.

Attacks on the police amounted to 38 attacks causing the death of 24 police officers and enlisted men.

There were also nine attacks on video rental shops and movie theatres and six attacks on jeweller's shops, which killed two persons and wounded five others. There was one assassination—that of secularist writer Dr Faraj Fudah.

The report asserted that economic reasons were a principal factor behind the rise of terrorism. It urged the government to take care that the financial burdens of its economic reform programme are not shunted onto the shoulders of the impoverished sectors of society and do not compound the already existing problems of unemployment and inflation. The report also urged the government to provide urban slum areas with the necessary utilities.

The report urged an atmosphere of "cultural and religious enlightenment" by using information media to

bring cultural and religious information to the inhabitants of remote areas. It also demanded an overall plan for stamping out illiteracy.

In urging a comprehensive confrontation with terrorism, the report advised the government to act quickly. "A national state plan is needed, to which each department should contribute within the framework of an overall national objective—the eradication of this destructive phenomenon," the report said. Political parties should deal directly with this problem, and not merely attempt to contain its escalation," the report added.

An anti-terrorist information policy must be maintained, placing the phenomenon of terrorism in its right context because downplaying the dangers of terrorism and exaggerating them are both equally wrong, the report said.

Speakers in the debate urged that a stand be taken against certain political party newspapers "which publish views that support terrorism and help in its proliferation by exploiting the atmosphere of democracy and freedom."

A Council member condemned those who raise the slogan that "Islam is the solution" arguing that this is a misleading slogan because Egypt, which has embraced Islam for over 1,000 years, is still a Muslim country.

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 5 Apr 93 p 7



Government Control of Private Mosques Discussed

93LD0014A Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 19 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by 'Imad 'Abd-al-'Alim]

[Text] During the last 10 years, the phenomenon of mosques and religious institutes built by personal enterprise has spread in the villages of Egypt. This occurrence must certainly have received Ministry of Awqaf officials' indictment. What, I wonder, is the reason for this

occurrence, and what are the most significant problems facing personal enterprise projects? AL-AHRAR conducted a tour of al-Minufiyah, al-Qalyubiyah, and al-Jizah Governorates to unmask the painful truth behind the mosques and institutes that are built at villagers' expense.

Mosques Invite Awqaf's Compassion

Ministry of Irrigation employee Muhyi Mustafa Muhyi maintains that "the construction of mosques in al-Minufiyah and al-Jizah Governorates has spread auspiciously, and most villages now boast mosques that are built by personal enterprise. A glance at the villages of al-Bajur and Ashmun reveals that each village has at least three mosques that do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Awqaf. It is tragic when a village builds a mosque by personal enterprise and continues to call upon the Ministry of Awqaf for at least five years, at no avail, for incorporation.

Instructor Zakariyya Ibrahim holds that "more than 60 percent of al-Minufiyah Governorate mosques have incomplete mosques [as published] and religious institutions. The cause for the obstruction of these projects is the Ministry of Awqaf, and it is incumbent upon the ministry to promote this concept and support it with the necessary funds so that personal enterprise projects are not hindered. Will this just demand be met? This is no more than an innocent question directed to Minister of Awqaf Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub; we have high hopes that it is answered."

Nonspecialist Imams

Attorney Sa'd Fathi Sa'd maintains that, "Despite being among the largest of Egypt's governorates, the three governorates mentioned suffer from non-specialist imams affiliated to village mosques. This is clearly evident in the new mosques that were constructed through personal enterprise and that the Ministry of Awqaf does not assist but has incorporated. These mosques are not subject to the supervision and oversight of any authority, which offers anyone, even non-graduated students, the opportunity to scale the pulpit to say anything that pleased them. Hence the true crisis: How much longer will these mosques remain bereft of identity, and who will put to end the tragic conditions of the imams in them? Moreover, most village mosques have newly graduated imams. It is taken for granted that care should be accorded these mosques and that they be provided with imams who are specialists. Perhaps then the problems of the villagers of these governorates will find a solution, and after the villagers have knocked on every door.

Laborers' and Imams' Salaries

Physician Hilmi Farraj maintains that laborers' and imams' salaries are collected from villagers. Whence the problem, as laborers and imams abandon the mosques because of the low salaries. Will the problem find a solution?

Ministry of Awqaf Ignores

Ministry of Electricity employee Hammam Sulayman, of al-Jizah Governorate, holds that "through personal enterprise, the villagers built a huge Islamic complex. It combined a large mosque, a religious institution, a center for the memorization of the Koran, and an infirmary. It cost more than 700,000 Egyptian pounds. During work on this complex we asked for the Ministry of Awqaf's assistance. It was as if we were calling to prayer in Malta. Thank God, this complex was completed through personal enterprise, and the Awqaf commendably incorporated it. We expected benefaction, but the winds always blow to the captains' displeasure. Awqaf officials proceeded to dismiss the religious institution's students into the streets and demanded that the villagers build a separate institution for the students. Is that reasonable? The matter needs no comment. Facts attest to officials' hindrance of these projects.

Student Salah Ramadan added, "The construction of religious institutions in the villages of the three governorates has spread. However, we find that while some institutions are complete, work on more than 50 mosques and institutes in al-Minufiyah Governorate continues through personal enterprise. We asked for al-Azhar's support but have not received any response. The phenomenon has spread to other governorates."

Mosques and Terrorism

Egyptian Contracting Company employee 'Abd-al-Halim 'Abd-al-Warith maintained that "Awqaf's incorporation of mosques is necessary at present, following the spread of mosques in the villages of the three governorates, in addition to the prayer rooms that citizens construct on agricultural land, regrettably in evasion of payment for construction infractions. These are not intended to be places for worship, but they do become places for terrorism. This phenomenon is beyond belief; it has spread in 90 percent of Egypt's governorates and more so in al-Jizah Governorate. Thus we maintain that terrorism and the heavy-handed groups seize the mosques and prayer rooms that are not under the Awqaf's jurisdiction as veritable sanctuaries. Does this please the Minister of Awqaf? How much longer must we continue to complain, and ultimately all complaints not directed to God bring disgrace. What is needed is haste, because the solution cannot wait and the tragedy is continually expanding."

Officials' Opinions and Vanished Promises

Shaykh Ghali 'Ali Ghali, missionary work inspector in al-Minufiyah Governorate said, "We, as missionary work inspectors, have as our task, simply and solely, the supervision of mosques under Awqaf jurisdiction. We do not deny the problem of mosques and institutions that were built through personal enterprise. We demand a search for solutions and a comprehensive review by al-Azhar Shaykh Jad-al-Haqq 'Ali Jad-al-Haqq".

People's Assembly member Muhammad 'Awda (Shubra al-Khaymah) added, "We repeatedly called upon the Awqaf; all we received were promises that vanished as smoke in the air. And Ministry of Awqaf Islamic missionary Muhammad 'Abd-al-Ghaffar said that "the ministry is doing everything in its capacity to find solutions to this phenomenon and its support, so that villagers' complaints end once and for all."

Following this comprehensive opinion survey, we find that the mosques and institutes built by personal enterprise in the villages of Egypt are suffering, while the Awqaf and al-Azhar ignore the problem. Are you there, Awqaf officials?

Cancellation of Islamic Programming Criticized

93LD0004B Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 31 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by 'Ali Sabir: "Koran Radio: Has It Accomplished Its Mission?"]

[Text] At the same time that many young people are straying in their search for the correct view and final opinion that will answer all the questions in their minds, the Ministry of Information has seen fit to cancel more than 10 programs on Holy Koran Radio. Among the reasons justifying this move were the fact that they have encouraged extremism; is that true? What is the alternative program? Has Koran Radio accomplished its mission as well as one might have wished?

Dr. Aminah Nusayr, dean of the Girls' College of Islamic Studies in Alexandria, has this to say about the reduction of some Islamic material on Holy Koran Radio or other radio and television programs: "It is not wise at all, for the following reasons:"

"First, if these people want to reduce the religious obstacle in order to decrease the power of extremism, then this is like jumping from the frying pan into the fire."

"Second, the attempt to eliminate religion among people is a dangerous thing, because a person who has lost religious awareness will resort to the other side of the coin, to sheer animalistic materialism, and that will upset all of our Islamic values."

"Third, the natural outcome of this will be that we lose the makeup of the balanced Muslim person whose consciousness is filled with faith and lofty values."

Excess in Religion

I call on Muslims, in these pages of AL-NUR, not to go toward the opposite face of the extremist organizations, which is the media's elimination of religion, because the consequence will be the appearance of even more dangerous kinds of the other face, of fanatics in religion. Thus we must put God back into our society and our children. We must not forget that this faith built the

Islamic empire, the greatest empire in history, the rays of whose brilliance shone on Europe, waking it from its slumber.

Drying Up the Tributaries

Dr. 'Abd-al-Rashid Saqr said, "I believe that this is a movement toward a policy of drying up the Islamic tributaries so that Islam cannot breathe free air. Its first step was to make room for the greatest amount of religious programming, especially before and during the great month of Ramadan, instead of canceling 12 programs. I call upon those who canceled these programs to keep their hands off of Islamic programs and the guardians of Islam. If they had asked the Egyptian people about the programs, the result would have been unrest, complaints, and anger, because people are tired of dancing, songs, and lightweight films and plays. Channel 1 runs for 16 hours each day, of which only one hour is religious programming. If only it could be beneficial and constructive. How long will this war continue, against Islam, its programs, and its people?"

No Extremism in Koran Radio

Addressing the cancellation of some Holy Koran Radio programs, Dr. 'Abd-al-Fattah 'Ashur, president of the Faculty of Education's Islamic Studies Section in al-Azhar University, said, "Actually, I do not know exactly which programs were canceled for good or what has taken their place. Is this cancellation part of a development process in the programming, or a change and cancellation of it for other reasons? As for the allegation that some of the programs that were canceled were causes of extremism, that is completely untrue. These programs were prepared and supervised by religious scholars known to be cultured and moderate. These programs were, in addition, closely and carefully reviewed; they had well-known, studied objectives before they were prepared and broadcast. Holy Koran Radio has never presented any distorted or twisted thinking. And saying that it was founded solely in order to broadcast the Holy Koran, without having religious programs—that is completely incorrect. The station started out that way, for a short period, then in the normal course of events began to present varied Islamic programs about Islam and Islamic issues."

We Are All Extremists

Dr. Sayyid Rizq al-Tawil, former dean of the Faculty of Religious Studies, said, "Canceling religious programs on Holy Koran Radio on the pretext that these programs lead to extremism is just illogical. Holy Koran Radio offered nothing but guidance for Muslims to the teachings of the true faith. All it advances is balanced, objective thinking. These programs are, of course, seen by those who review them closely. All of those speaking in these programs are al-Azhar scholars who are known for their knowledge and culture. How can they present thoughts conducive to extremism? If what Holy Koran Radio broadcasts supports or helps extremism, then all

Muslims are extremists, because it does not incite Muslims to anything they are not committed to in the Koran, the Sunna, and the traditions of our righteous forebears. Does the Koran incite extremism? Were our righteous forebears extremists?

Shaykh Ramadan 'Arafah said, "There is not one verse in Islam that calls for or supports extremism, as they allege, and it is improper to cancel a program that acquaints Muslims with their Muslim brothers, or asks people to commit themselves to religion. We ask God to help the officials to purify the other programs of the flaws that turn them away from worshipping God alone and to let Koran Radio spread its message, especially in this atmosphere, in which many lost youths suffer."

Shrinking the Religious Programs

Dr. Sabri 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, professor of comparative jurisprudence at al-Azhar, said, "Every so often the Ministry of Information reduces its religious programming in its important media, in both television and radio broadcasting, chiefly in Holy Koran Radio. What we would have expected of the Minister of Information in days such as these would have been for him to work at expanding religious broadcasting on radio and television, to promote religious awareness, and so that these media might carry out their Islamic mission."

Islamic Media

Dr. Sabri 'Abd-al-Ra'uf went on to say, "It is not the media that show scandalous plays and films; the media are there to spread religious, social, and cultural awareness consistent with the way of Islamic Law. If there are now some who complain of extremism, the principal reason is the media's failure to concentrate on contemporary religious issues and credible consciousness-raising for young people. Whenever you turn on the television, you see things that are not in conformity with God's book and the Sunna of His prophet, peace be upon him. Those in charge of the information media must concern themselves with youth issues through radio and television, instead of canceling these religious programs, the first to guide properly. If the Information Ministry had canceled a large number of religious programs on Koran Radio, this requires us to inform the officials of the danger of this act. This action does not correct the course, as they claim. We call upon officials, in the name of Islam, to encourage these religious programs by spreading religious awareness to help young people to adhere to their faith and their country, so that goodness and Islam will prevail."

Islamic Scholars Discuss Roots of Extremism

93LD0005A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 17 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Majdi Zalam: "How Can We Stop Cycle of Assassinations Between Groups and Police?"]

[Text] The increase in incidents of violence and in clashes between police and some members of Islamic

groups has been such that fear and concern about one's life and property are warranted. Interests have been disrupted and innocent people have been terrified. It is regrettable that all these criminal incidents are being committed in the name of Islam, but that fact is the reason why many questions are being raised about these groups' motives and the reasons why they committed these incidents. Are such actions Islamic? What does Islam have to say about taking human life? Who is responsible for what is happening: the government or the groups? What are the methods that can be used to remedy the situation, and how can the bloodshed and the killing be brought to an end? To answer these and other questions we presented this matter to intellectuals and Islamic scholars. This report, which is tantamount to a prescription for the treatment of such phenomena and events, is the product of [that effort].

Shaykh al-Azhar affirmed that murder, bloodshed, and terrorism were not signs of an Islamic awakening, and he said that they were incompatible with what tolerant Islam teaches. Shaykh al-Azhar declared that the state was applying Islamic precepts and that most laws were derived from Islamic law. He said the state was complying with Islam inside the country and abroad. He answered a question about the possibility of debating these people by saying: "I refuse to debate them, but I call upon them to turn to specialist scholars who would be quite willing to tell them about Islamic precepts. But the use of violence, bloodshed, and murder in the name of Islam is unacceptable. Such things have nothing to do with Islam."

The Basis for Extremism

Dr. Muhammad al-Sa'id Mushtahri, an Islamic scholar, explained that the root causes of violence in the world lie in intellectual extremism and political extremism. Political extremism is caused mainly by governments whose unwise and thoughtless policies force individuals into extremism. For example, when few individuals are arrested and tortured by a government, one cannot blame them when they turn against that government and clash with it. Intellectual extremism, however, is mainly the result of accepting the authority of a few theological texts and observing their provisions: those texts and provisions that were the product of factional conflicts and disputes during ancient times.

Killing Tourists

A few individuals use these texts to give themselves an excuse for killing tourists. They claim that the tourists are nonbelievers who must be killed, and they also claim that Muslims who kill nonbelievers should not be killed. Such rules of jurisprudence were established during ages that, to say the least, are questionable.

That is why the scholars of al-Azhar, in their capacity as officials of that institution, must reconsider the precepts of jurisprudence which are being disseminated by the most important books and misinterpreted by some

people as condoning undue bloodshed. And particularly with regard to violence and changing what is objectionable, scholars must look into the origins of these precepts and matters, and they will find them to be the products of conflicts. I am calling upon the scholars of al-Azhar to find out the reasons why such opinions were issued during those ages by scholars of jurisprudence. And when they find the origins of those opinions and ascertain that they were in fact products of factional, political conflicts, these opinions must be discarded immediately and removed from these books without hesitation. Such independent opinions should be stripped of their sanctity regardless of the identity of the person who issued them. The question I would ask the scholars of al-Azhar is this: "Why is it that such books containing such destructive opinions are still being printed today?"

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Apr 93



The Question of Empowerment

Dr. Mushtahri added, "The violent phenomena experienced by the country stem basically from the fact that some people do not realize that God Almighty's promise of empowering Muslims and His promise that Islam would become supreme were made on the condition that these Muslims' faith be associated with good deeds. God Almighty says, 'Allah has promised those of you who believe and do good works to make them masters in the land as He had made their ancestors before them, to strengthen the Faith He chose for them' [Koran 24:55]. God promised He would empower Muslims in their land and He would make their faith strong. The problem, however, is that individuals became preoccupied with the promise of a strong religion and their own empowerment, and they forgot what is required of them, namely, to have faith, to perform good deeds, and to worship no other god but Allah. "Let them worship Me and serve no other gods besides Me" [Koran 24:55].

The power of good deeds and the power of faith in God Almighty are inseparable. But when faith and good deeds became divorced from each other, Muslims became preoccupied with factional disputes and political conflicts, and they restricted their efforts to rites of worship. They did not realize that good deeds were necessary and essential to completing their faith, and it was then that the seeds of intellectual and cultural backwardness were sown. The nation was thus divided into discordant parties and leagues which sought to get close to God Almighty by giving in to their lust for bloodshed. Their interpretation of religious texts was false, and their understanding of the truth about this religion and its noble goals was distorted. Consequently, theological precepts which support violence and bloodshed appeared. These precepts, which were products of factional, political conflicts, are as far as they can be from the spirit and essence of this religion. Although at some point in time the use of violence may have brought about the results that were being sought, it would be foolish to think that in this age of lasers and intercontinental missiles, Muslims' mastery and command of power and the supremacy of Islam could be brought about by bloodshed and such destructive acts. Dr Mushtuhuri affirms that it is up to God Almighty to bring about Muslims' mastery and command of power as well as the supremacy of Islam. People should know, however, that there is something they have to do first, and it is on that basis that God Almighty would fulfill His promise to them and support them by making them victorious.

Dr. Mushtahri pointed out that those who are preoccupied with the question of empowerment and the supremacy of Islam should not let what was promised to them distract them from what is required of them. They should know that they themselves are the key to change. Unless they do something to change themselves, God Almighty will not change their situation to the better, nor will He fulfill His promise of empowerment and supremacy. These people have to channel their efforts and resources into fostering a strong sense of self in their midst. They have to perform good deeds, and they have to worship the One Almighty God faithfully. God will neither empower this nation nor will He make its religion supreme if the people of this nation are killing innocent people, destroying institutions, and spreading chaos in the land. Empowerment and supremacy are among the Divine traditions which become operable in people's lives in accordance with what is right and proper. God Almighty said, "Allah does not change a people's lot unless they change what is in their hearts" [Koran 13:11].

Application of Islamic Law

Shaykh Yusuf al-Badri affirmed, "The application of Islamic law is the only way to bring an end to the turmoil, the killing, and the bloodshed which we see happening now between the police and Islamic groups. It is everyone's goal to see to it that Islamic law is in the driver's seat in government. The principle of Muslims is

this: Our ruler could be a Nubian slave; that does not matter to us. What does matter to us are the laws which he applies."

Shaykh al-Badri pointed out that the solution lies in establishing political pluralism which would be truly Islamic in accordance with the Islamic sense of that term. This means that the solution lies in a pragmatic approach which resembles that of having Islamic denominations. Islam would welcome that wholeheartedly.

If, however, the concept of democracy means accepting the opinion of the majority, that concept would not be welcome. An approach based on that concept would be legally invalid because the majority's opinion could be evil and corrupt. Shaykh al-Badri argued his point by saying that "Although 'Umar Bin-al-Khattab disagreed with the messenger of God on the matter of the Badr prisoners and on other matters as well, he was embraced by the messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation."

"That is why establishing Islamic political pluralism is the key to absorbing these groups and dispersing them in accordance with the constitution and the Political Parties Act. Article 2 stipulates that Islam is the country's religion, the Arabic language its official language, and the canonical law of Islam the principal source of legislation. Articles 5 and 11, and other articles as well, stipulate that the provisions of Islamic law may not be violated. The Political Parties Act clearly stipulates that the principles of any political party should not conflict with the provisions of Islamic law. Accordingly, any political party which violates that provision is to be rejected. And that is why changes must be made in existing political parties to bring about compliance with the text of this law."

The Canonical Law of Islam

Dr. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, the Islamic writer, said, "Holding elections that would be 100 percent free and honest is the key to solving our problems and putting an end to these criminal phenomena. Elections would be held to re-institute the canonical law of Islam in Egypt because all these disasters and all the divisiveness and internecine warfare that we have had are due to the fact that the existing regime is contemptible. It does not represent the canonical law of Islam, and it does not know the meaning of democracy or human rights. Under this existing regime we in Egypt are more like passengers on a hijacked vessel, and the passengers on that vessel who have been kidnapped are the good-natured people of this country who are powerless in the face of those who are in charge of its affairs. What these people are doing is merely a form of self-defense against this siege, and the crimes which are being committed are the means by which their deliverance from the kidnappers can be achieved. That is why we have to do everything in our power to reinstitute the canonical law of Islam so that we can have a system of government that we find satisfactory. After we do that, neither we nor the government

would be intimidated by all these forces and tendencies. At that time all the different tendencies on the face of the earth would be purged. They would conduct their activities openly, and they would have offices, leaders, and responsible officials acting in an atmosphere of freedom and legitimacy. Then, we will be the ones taking a firm stance against deviant tendencies in these groups. But barring Islamists from writing in official and non-official newspapers is something that we reject. We also reject the confiscation of ideas and liberties, and we reject attacks against Islam in most of the state's legitimate channels. These are the things which led to the violence and conflict we are experiencing."

Islamic Education

Dr. Muhammad Sayid Ahmad (al-Musayyir), professor at al-Azhar University, says, "The causes and motives of extremism are many. They include corruption, economic waste, unemployment, moral decline, and many other things." Dr. al-Musayar makes it clear that the proper and effective remedy for extremism is adherence to religion, correcting the course of the Islamic media, and adherence to the curricula of Islamic education, starting with elementary education and continuing through the elementary stage [as published].

"There are general principles about which all of us—those who govern and those who are governed—must agree. We must seek judgment from the Koran; we must adhere to values; and we must promote virtue and spurn vice. Without these principles no remedy will take effect and no slogans will do any good. What matters is adherence to courses of action that are constant and that stem from the conscience of this nation."

Storming Mosques

Dr. 'Abd-al-Rashid Saqr said, "These events are due to the government's high-handedness, to its exclusive reliance on its own opinion in all issues, and its disregard for people's feelings. These events are due to the government's actions of storming some mosques and shutting down others and to its public declaration of war against Islam. The spread of unemployment among graduates and others and the accumulation of injustices are also behind these events."

"These are some of the reasons why there has been bloodshed between the police and the people." Dr. Saqr added, "The solution in my opinion is to raise the banner of justice, to support the Truth, and to go back to it if its signs become evident. Islam is in fact the answer. The answer lies in applying the course of God, honoring His soldiers, and closing in on His enemies so that the ruling regime can make room for the Islamists' opinion and listen to them. The solution lies in having a free, honest dialogue. That would be [the solution] if government wants to stop the bloodshed and convey to every individual and to people in general a sense of relief. But if government continues on its obstinate course, this

sequence [of violent incidents] will grow, and problems will get worse. And that will spell the end of this government forever."

The Police First

Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Samawi said, "Before asking what is it that drives young Muslims to clash with the police, we must first ask what it is that drives the police to kill young Muslims as though they were our nation's enemies and Egypt's enemies. This is the question which must be asked first because the primary responsibility rests with the government before it rests with the young people. It is the government that started all this. Let's consider the statements made by the minister of the interior. He said that he would crush and decimate those people. Let's consider these statements which a responsible minister made about his own people or about young people who are like his own children. What drove him to make such a statement? Is it malice against Islam or what?"

Shaykh al-Samawi went on to say, "Young people feel that they have to defend themselves. They are taken to detention centers and tortured, and their only crime is that of adhering to their religion or letting their beards grow." Shaykh al-Samawi wondered, "Isn't it essential that we engage these young people in dialogue so that we can find out what they think and what their goals and inclinations are? These young people found no one to talk with them. What they found was hostility, hatred, and rancor. Aren't these young people justified in this clash?"

Shaykh al-Samawi said he thinks that the solution lies in free and open dialogue. "In fact, debating these young people is a must. Why does the government fear dialogue and debate when it is confident in itself?"

Al-Azhar Official on Extremist Violence

93LD0010A Cairo AL-NASR in Arabic
1 Mar 93 pp 28-29

[Interview with Dr. Ahmad 'Umar Hashim, chairman of People's Assembly Religion Committee and vice president of al-Azhar University, by Lieutenant Colonel Wahid Fakhri al-Uqsuri; place and date not given: "Our Armed Forces Are the [Islamic] Nation's Shield and Bastion"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Al-Uqsuri] What are Islam's position and teachings on the terrorism phenomenon? May a Muslim rebel under some circumstances?

[Hashim] Under no circumstances may a Muslim rebel. Extremism and terrorism are a phenomenon alien to us, not the growth of our soil or country. This idea is infiltrated—plotted by the enemies of this community. The intent behind the idea, above all, is to strike at Islam itself. Those who formulated the idea and plotted to spread it are this community's enemies and those who pretend to be related to Islam. They are the people farthest from Islam, because one of Islam's priorities and

first principles is that Muslims and believers are defined as peaceable: "A Muslim is one from whose tongue and hand Muslims are safe."

[Al-Uqsuri] Is it correct to describe extremism as religious extremism, or is it intellectual extremism? What do you think the causes of the phenomenon of terrorism are in general?

[Hashim] First, describing it as religious terrorism does not mean that it is integral to religion or that its authors are religious. One may even say that using the expression "religious extremism" is a mistake. Those who ascribed religious extremism to these people meant that they had deviated from the teachings of religion—no more. The matter is clear and evident. The expression implies that they are extremists—deviants from religious teachings. In reality, we view this extremism as far from religion, especially from Islam, because Islam is known for its moderation and for not involving impediment or trouble—as God, who is exalted, has said: "He has laid on you no impediment in your religion." [Koran 22:78] And He, may He be praised, has also said: "God desires ease for you, and desires not hardship for you." [Koran 2:185]

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
12 Apr 93 p 30

• Price Rises •

Don't you know the title of poverty?!



[Al-Uqsuri] Are the causes, as you have said, external, coming from the enemies of Islam, or are there also internal causes?

[Hashim] No, the phenomenon has one cause and no other. It is that certain people are making plans for them from abroad, funding and guiding with hidden fingers. They intend thereby to overthrow governments in the Arab and Islamic countries and establish an alleged caliphate over which they will have control. That is all. There is no other cause.

[Al-Uqsuri] What is the explanation of the tradition handed down from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace: "Whoever among you sees something reprehensible, let him change it with his hand."

[Hashim] To begin with, look at the first word. He says, "Whoever sees," meaning that you do not oppose the reprehensible unless you see it with your own eyes. Those who reproach people merely because they have heard about them with their ears from others and those who have read in newspapers that sling mud on honorable men, wronging them, and holding them responsible for shortcomings not ascribable to them—that is obvious injustice.

For this reason the tradition says, "Whoever among you sees something reprehensible, let him change it with his hand; and if he cannot, then with his tongue; and if he cannot, then with his heart—and that is the weakest part of faith."

He who effects change by his hand is whoever has authority over the one he changes—by being his father, superior, or guardian.

However, if a person has no authority and proceeds to change the reprehensible by his hand, changing the reprehensible may lead to something even more reprehensible; and then the commission of the milder of two harms will be the lesser evil.

If one has no authority and cannot resist the reprehensible by one's hand, one moves to the second level—changing the reprehensible by the tongue, by commanding virtue and forbidding vice. If one cannot do that, then one does so with one's heart, by disapproving of it in one's heart and not accepting it. That is the weakest part of faith.

[Al-Uqsuri] What is your advice to young people, so that they do not fall prey to those who try to draw them into the extremist current?

[Hashim] Briefly, my advice to young people is that I call on them to realize that those who promote the idea of terrorism and extremism are enemies of the [Islamic] nation and not Muslims. If they refer to the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion, they will find there that this is completely clear and that they have tried to unleash these things in order to cause splits between groups of Muslim youths, weaken the strength of the [Islamic] nation, and distract it with subsidiary and contentious matters, so that each country becomes preoccupied with its internal security and has no time to carry out its role of preserving pan-Arab security and deterring external aggression against the Islamic minorities, which are now suffering in many places. We should rather hasten to their aid and unite, not divide and fragment.

[Al-Uqsuri] What is the best method to use with the holders of extremist ideas: dialogue, or force and severity?

[Hashim] Yes, dialogue is necessary with those who respond to words; but with those who use arms, defense is necessary. If a terrorist tries to assassinate one or more members of the nation and takes up arms against them, it is not reasonable for me to say that I am going to debate with him. That will be wrong. I should prevent the terrorism first and then talk to whoever wants to talk. As for whoever takes up arms, the Prophet himself disowned such people, saying, "Whoever takes up arms against us is not one of us." He also said, "If the inhabitants of heaven and of earth joined forces to slay a Muslim, God would throw them into the fire of hell."

[Al-Uqsuri] What is your word to the Armed Forces?

[Hashim] I say that the Armed Forces represent the shield and bastion of the [Islamic] nation. I pray that God, who is blessed and exalted, will preserve them from every evil and from every alien idea; and that they may remain protected. For their protection of our nation and of God's Egypt is protection of Islam in every land. Were Egypt to bow—God forbid!—the entire Islamic world would be lost. If Egypt's position is maintained, God will surely maintain the strength of the Arab and Islamic world.

'Cultural Front' Cited in War Against Terrorism

93LD0016A Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
15-21 Apr 93 p 7

[Text] Religious terrorism, or terrorism in the name of religion, has reached new heights in Egypt this year with a series of violent bombings and explosions.

Sixty per cent of Egypt's population of 60 million are under the age of 20, as are more than 90 per cent of the members of religious terror groups. So what is it that makes young Egyptians join such groups?

The Muslim Brothers functioned as an expression of political Islam in Egypt's Liberal Age, from the 1923 Constitution until the revolution of July 1952, but they were unable to attract a great deal of support since liberalism was far better suited to the particular make-up of Egyptian society, with its large and centuries-old Christian minority, unparalleled in any other Muslim-majority country. Although liberalism allowed the Muslim Brothers to exist as a civil association Egyptian society in the Liberal Age did not allow this association to have much political influence, and its suppression by the July Revolution put political Islam on ice for many years, driving it underground into clandestine activity only to emerge even stronger later.

The Islamists received a boost when the late President al-Sadat decided to use them to counter communist groups. Al-Sadat declared himself a faithful Muslim, in distinction to his predecessor, President Nasir, and called the war of October 1973, in which the Egyptian army was victorious, a "religious war."

The Islamist groups then announced their presence, and their aim of seizing power by force of arms if necessary, by assassinating al-Sadat in 1981.

In view of this major political statement on the part of the Islamist groups, by which they confirmed that they want to seize power, President Mubarak realised that the only solution was democracy, giving every political tendency, including political Islam, a chance. But just as Nasir attempted to create socialism without socialist cadres, so Mubarak has tried to create democracy without democratic cadres. Egypt's socialist rulers had all belonged to the previous anti-socialist regime, and its democratic rulers have all previously been members of anti-democratic regimes. Most of al-Sadat's men, both inside and outside the cabinet, remained in power throughout the 1980s, and in some cases are still in power now, allegedly in the interests of maintaining stability, so much so that the country has ended up having these bombings and explosions.

The policy of these advocates of stability towards Islamist groups has been to try to outdo them in terms of religion, while the Islamist groups have tried to outdo the government in secular matters. The government has said: "OK, if you want mosques you can have them. If you ask for a mosque in this district or that town we'll build them two mosques each. If you ask for ten religious programmes on TV, we'll produce 20."

Meanwhile, the Islamist groups have been telling young people who want to get married and cannot afford to do so that all they need, according to Islamic law, is a room with two nails and a mat—a nail to hang the wife's clothes on, a nail to hang her husband's on, and a mat to sleep on. They don't need a gold, or even silver, ring—iron will do; and they don't need to worry about paying a marriage registrar, representing the infidel government, when all that is needed is two witnesses, without a lot of paperwork and signatures and seals.

The Islamist groups told people: "Don't bother working. Put your money into Islamic money investment companies and it will increase, God willing. Don't worry about sickness and medical bills—look, we have clinics and hospitals at the mosque charging next to nothing." They have told people it is not necessary to send children to school or university to educate them, as all they need to learn is the Qur'an. Sheikh Shaarawi once said he saw no sense in reading any book other than the Holy Qur'an.

Within less than ten years of al-Sadat's death, the ideas of the Islamist groups had become mainstream thinking in Egyptian society. Then came their second major political statement, the assassination of Speaker of Parliament Dr Rif'al al-Mahjub; their third was the killing of Dr. Faraj Fudah, who was not a government figure but a writer opposed to their way of thinking. But none of this changed the government's stable, entrenched policies until the killing of a British nurse visiting Egypt as a tourist. Only then did the government begin to meet force with force, in other words just when force was no

longer enough, because force cannot destroy ideas, especially once they have entered into mainstream thinking.

The spread of religious terrorism in Egypt this year both demonstrates and results from a failure of culture. I am not referring here to culture in the conventional sense of literature and the arts, but to all the things that impinge on people's consciousness, at home, at school, at the mosque, at church, through the radio and television, books, newspapers, magazines, the performing arts (cinema, theatre, music, dance, song) and the plastic arts—everything people encounter in their daily lives from morning to night, from childhood to old age. All these things create consciousness and are therefore responsible for any "consciousness" or "unconsciousness" in society.

True, material facts are more powerful than any idea, but there has always been poverty without it necessarily leading to terrorism. It is also true that despair in this world can lead young people to seek refuge in the next, and among the commonest reasons for despair in this world are influence-peddling, favouritism, lack of regard for competence, the use of security reports to determine promotion, and slow justice in the courts. All these things must be stamped out or at least prevented from spreading, yet they need not necessarily lead to bombings and explosions, because terrorism will not solve anything, but simply destroy society and reduce it to rubble, as happened in Lebanon, for instance.

It is utterly naive to think that the role of broadcasting is to produce programmes saying "No to terrorism." Advertisements may sell soap and toothpaste, but they do not change cultural realities. What we need is a serious and thorough review of all the things I mentioned earlier as creating consciousness in society, by what one might call the "cultural group" of ministries—the Ministries of Education, Information, Social Affairs, Awqaf ([Islamic] religious endowments) and Culture. It would be better, incidentally, to make the Ministry of Awqaf into a Ministry for Religious Affairs, and the Culture Ministry a Ministry of Literature and the Arts. Any such review will not be truly serious and thorough, though, unless it is recognised that the recent spread of terrorism represents a failure of culture in this country; and it will not produce positive results so long as we believe that there is nothing wrong with our culture.

It would be a terrible let-down if such a review meant state intervention, socialism and detention camps, all words which unfortunately are used synonymously in contemporary Egyptian culture. Instead there should be exactly the same relationship between the state and consciousness-creating institutions in Egypt as in the United States, towards which the makers of these synonyms look for their model. Freedom there does not mean, never has meant and never will mean the state sitting back and letting these institutions do whatever they like, even if it might end up destroying society altogether.

We also need a Ministry of Youth and Sports to be part of the cultural group of ministries, because "culture," as I said, does not mean only information learned in school and university or gleaned from the radio, television, newspapers and magazines, but also various forms of entertainment and leisure activities, which might involve dipping into literature and the arts or taking part in sports. Egyptian teenagers today have nowhere to spend their leisure time except the mosque, where they may fall prey to the promoters of religious terrorism using them for their own political ends (which have nothing whatsoever to do with religion).

Egyptian teenagers cannot afford to go [to] the theatre at LE100 a ticket; they cannot afford books at around LE10 each; they cannot join a sports club when that costs LE1,000; they cannot read at Dar al-Kutub (the national library) if it closes in the evenings; and they cannot borrow books if they do not have branch libraries near their homes, or Culture Palaces in their towns or villages. So where do the vast majority of Egyptian youths go in the evenings, and how do they spend their leisure time?

Cinemas are the most popular form of entertainment for young people in Egypt, as everywhere else in the world. Young people like to go out in the evenings, especially if their family homes are as cramped as most in Egypt. In the United States, even with hundreds of TV channels broadcasting programmes at all hours of day and night, there are still 23,000 cinemas, patronised overwhelmingly by the young, with an average ticket price of \$5. Were it not for these cinemas, the crime rate might be even higher than it is.

Egypt used to have 500 cinemas showing hundreds of films each year from Egypt and all over the world, at an average ticket price of PT 25. Today, however, there are fewer than 100 cinemas in the whole of Egypt and most governorates do not have a single cinema. Most of them, even in Cairo, do not meet technical or safety standards, yet the average price of a ticket is LE7. Cinemas have closed not because of competition from television, but because of laws and decrees imposed by bureaucrats and businessmen in their own selfish interests, while claiming to be protecting the "national" film industry from "foreign" films, with the result that the Egyptian film industry has totally collapsed.

There have been mosques in Egypt for 1,400 years, and Egypt has more mosques than any other Muslim or Muslim-majority country. But these mosques have always been, and still are, meant to be used for prayer and worship. Places of worship should not find themselves being used for recreational purposes in competition with cinemas, or as a forum for political activity in competition with political party headquarters, or competing with clinics and hospitals in treating the sick. We should restore mosques once again to their proper function as places of worship, and provide young people with plenty of other accessible leisure activities, so that they can live like normal young people, studying or working in the morning, going to their place of worship to pray,

and then in their leisure time going to the cinema, theatre or library, or taking part in their favourite sport.

The fact that thousands of Egyptian teenagers are members of religious terror groups is a national disaster equivalent to the occupation of territory by foreign forces. And yet, praise God, we have a national government and a moderate and wise president who does not automatically choose to use force. These so-called "Islamic" groups are stupid enough to want a military showdown with the state, but what can they do against the police or army? In a neighbouring country 20,000 people may have been killed in a week, but God Almighty has always protected Egypt from such things. One of the signs of how much He cares about Egypt is that it is at present ruled by a man who is capable of using force and putting a stop to all this chaos in a matter of days, yet refuses to do so because he knows that most of the young people to have fallen under the influence of the promoters of terrorism are victims themselves. We must therefore save Egypt's young people by formulating a new cultural policy in the ways I have suggested.

Sultan Denies Islam-Violence Connection

93AF0497C London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 7 Apr 93 p 6

[Text] Egyptian Tourism and Civil Aviation Minister Fu'ad Sultan considers the terrorism phenomenon in Egypt as "exceptional, lawless, and having no relationship with Islam." He made it clear that "the limited number of terrorist acts expressed despair and that hostile agencies attempted to exaggerate and magnify them in the media."

The Egyptian minister was visiting Doha to participate in the first Tourism and Travel Exhibition. He told AL-HAYAH upon his arrival yesterday that he had brought "a complete depiction of the numerous activities in Egypt that would be presented at the international exhibition."

He further mentioned that documentary programs depicting tourist sites in Egypt, especially those in the Sinai and Red Sea regions will be transmitted via the Egyptian satellite channel.

He spoke about the terrorism phenomenon, emphasizing that "it is not a continuing phenomenon. It represents lawless acts and has absolutely no relationship with Islam. It is an expression of despair, and there has been an attempt by some hostile international media to exaggerate and magnify this phenomenon."

He said that agreement was reached with some advertising companies in the United States and Europe to "improve Egypt's image abroad and deal with what the media publishes."

He added that his ministry would show ads on U.S. and European television three times a day.

Academician Proposes Alternatives To Terrorism
93LD0016B Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
15-21 Apr 93 p 5

[Article by Su'ad al-Sharqawi]

[Text] Confronting the political violence which Egypt is witnessing requires methods other than those being used by the government at the moment. After an explosion or when the police locate a bomb, they organise a raid on what they assume correctly or incorrectly—are the hide-outs of the perpetrators. Indiscriminate gunfire ensues, resulting in high casualties among citizens and the police. These high casualty figures must disturb all Egyptians, even if the victims are called martyrs. Ultimately, the police themselves are the experts in this field and they could be asked to devise means of pursuing their targets on the principles of the fewest human losses possible, the protection of human rights and refraining from shooting before the suspects have had a fair trial.

On more than one occasion we have heard of incidents in which the police have killed people suspected of committing crimes or of assassination attempts only to discover later that these people were innocent. To prevent such consequences there are certain procedures and principles that the police should observe:

- The accused is innocent until proven guilty.

- Due caution should be given before a raid in order to avoid harming innocent citizens.
- Keeping the casualties among both the suspects and the police as low as possible.

Yet we must also urgently treat the way government and society confronts the problem. Government authority is founded on two principles: power and providing services, and cannot rest on power alone. It requires the consent of the public which can be obtained only by providing services that satisfy the majority of the public, if not everyone. The frustration and anger felt by the young—extremists and non-extremists alike—are due to the perception that the doors to job opportunities that provide a secure income are closed to the majority of them whereas a small minority of people enjoy numerous advantages and high salaries, sometimes without doing any real work. At the same time, the banks hold large sums of peoples' savings which they are unable to invest. We must put into effect several urgent measures:

1. Devote two pages in the widely-circulated newspapers and allocate one hour a day on the radio and television to those who have views at variance with those of the government. New writers or speakers would receive a fee for original ideas and constructive or creative thoughts. This proposal arises from the fact that the founding of a new newspaper involves overcoming insurmountable obstacles, while, at the same time, no new or fresh talent has appeared in the older, major newspapers.

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 28 Apr 93 p 5



I am forced to inform on you in order to take care of the monthly expenses.

2. Political parties are unable to attract large followings because the party leadership does not grasp the function of political parties. Instead of serving the interests of the greatest number of people possible they distribute favours to a privileged minority that already has more than it needs.
3. There are high levels of savings from all sectors of the populace in the banks, yet the banks are incapable of investing them.
4. Some streets should be blocked off during certain hours and public holidays, when the traffic is at a minimum in order to create playgrounds for the young so that they do not have to wait for sporting clubs to open that will probably never open anyway.
5. Holding more than one government job should be prohibited, as should working in both the executive and legislative branches of government. The division of authority is one of the cornerstones of political and economic reform.
6. Desert areas to be reclaimed should be owned by companies and banks that have the resources to develop them. In my opinion, the land development process is not proceeding correctly. The tourist projects on the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts are a burden on the national economy. It would have been wiser if construction and development had been focused on developing areas around productive water and mineral resources.
7. The policy of distributing small plots of land to university graduates for land reclamation is not realistic. Land reclamation requires capital, expertise and labour. Banks, insurance companies and other large companies should be engaged in the process because they have the resources to fund such projects on a large scale.
8. There should be a return to crafts and manual labour. We have dispensed with manual labour in many fields with the introduction of expensive tools and equipment generally imported at high prices. The government should encourage a return to the crafts, such as carpet weaving, hand-made clothes and fabrics and other such arts, in the manner of China whose traditional crafts are sold in international markets at high prices. Manual labour could also be engaged in the process of exterminating agricultural pests, clearing cultivatable land and clearing canals. This would kill two birds with one stone. We could dispense with harmful and polluting pesticides and save in fuel and electricity consumption. Most importantly, a return to manual labour would create work opportunities for thousands.

National Campaign Against Terrorism Advocated
93LD0016C Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
15-21 Apr 93 p 6

[Article by Ibrahim Nafi']

[Text] An all-out security offensive is now under way against those committing terrorism and violence with the aim of undermining peace and stability in Egypt. This is obviously an effective way of confronting the problem, but it is not, in the long run, the only effective way of dealing with it.

The efforts of the police, who are losing officers and men in bloody encounters with criminal terrorist elements, must be backed by other efforts, on several fronts, to stem the problem at source.

On the political front, we need to turn the drive against terrorism and extremism into a national campaign involving all political groups and parties, of all tendencies and persuasions.

It was certainly a positive step when the leaders of most of Egypt's political parties signed a declaration, at the initiative of the National Democratic Party (NDP), against the terrorism and violence that threaten internal stability and the livelihoods of large swathes of the population. Unfortunately, the only party that declined to sign the declaration was the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), which refused to condemn violence and terrorism against tourism, the police and the innocent bystanders killed or injured by explosions in public places, such as the Wadi al-Nil cafe bombing, or attempts to kill innocent tourists who come to Egypt as our guests.

It would also be a good move to call on prominent figures from certain moderate religious tendencies to make explicit their views on the illegitimacy of setting oneself up to judge both rulers and the ruled, and on the violent methods of extremist religious organisations. Although these figures do reject violence and the practice of declaring people to be infidels, they do not make their views known or condemn these things strongly enough, as if not wanting to appear to be siding with the government on the issue, whether to show their independence of the government or so as not to cause a rift with these organisations.

On the information front, meanwhile, there should be a coordinated effort at all times to expose extremist practices and deepen a proper understanding of national and religious matters, by covering them objectively and thoroughly in the media, so that extremist elements become isolated and rejected by the people.

In the economic area, all government bodies must get together to draw up and execute urgent plans to improve facilities in densely populated low-income districts, in order to stem the sources of terrorism, which thrives in such places. These plans should include putting more government resources into raising standards of living

and cultural awareness, as a way of countering the promoters of terrorism and foreign-inspired sabotage.

Better health care, education, sewage systems, water supplies, transport, communications, literacy projects and town planning would, alongside other efforts, play an effective part in bringing enlightenment and expelling darkness and terrorism.

It has been proposed that there should be a reordering of priorities in plans to tackle some of the most pressing problems faced by young people and those on low incomes, as a way of nipping terrorism in the bud. We need to tackle unemployment, for example, by speeding up the establishment of small and medium-sized enterprises, which will quickly create job opportunities for young people; and we need to redevelop the slums and shanty towns that provide fertile recruiting grounds for terrorist groups, not only in Cairo but in the provinces as well, especially in deprived towns and villages in Upper Egypt.

We need bold, swift measures to secure the necessary funding for these programmes, even if we have to take it out of the cash reserves which have accumulated in recent years, or swiftly contact friendly countries which want to see Egypt get over this crisis peacefully.

More important still, when President Mubarak decides to announce these new priorities, for execution within a short and precisely defined timespan, this should be accompanied by some change of personnel, in order to give people hope that these programmes will be carried out and create the desired opportunities, to give them some credibility in the eyes of the public, and to make everyone feel a genuine desire for change, as President Mubarak's announcement will be the signal for the bulldozers to move and begin the work of reconstruction.

On the legislative front, meanwhile, it is undoubtedly time to introduce new legislation to make anti-terrorist measures more effective, such as a Terrorism Act imposing stiff penalties for all terrorist acts, and providing a greater deterrent against such crimes. Most of the industrialised countries have such laws, which contain harsher and more deterrent provisions than the regular penal code and are more effective than the emergency laws currently in force in Egypt, which the government is very careful to use only sparingly, in the interests of democracy and political pluralism.

This should be accompanied by a review of the position of terrorist elements inside Egypt's prisons, who are said still to be issuing orders to their followers to carry out further terrorist operations.

To sum up, then, the fight against terrorism—terrorism on behalf of foreign powers, aimed at realising Iran's dreams of regional hegemony—must be firm, deterrent and all-embracing, and not confined solely to security measures. It must involve all popular forces, as it is the Egyptian people who are the targets of terrorist operations.

Scholars Discuss Ways To Confront Extremism

93LD0006E Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 24 Mar 93 p 3

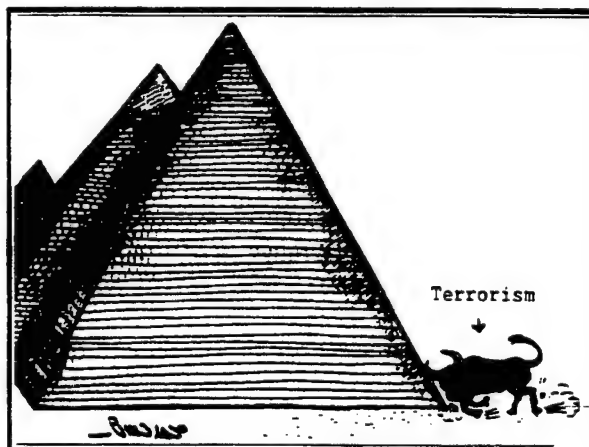
[Text] It should come as no surprise that the National Progressive Unionist Grouping [NPUG] Party would declare its secularism and communism, inasmuch as everyone knows that these are its ideas and principles.

One should, however, be surprised by the party's attempt to deceive the public and the weak-minded by declaring that it is serving Islam by promulgating, in one of its conventions, a resolution providing for the formation of a "national front that will accommodate all ideological currents and political forces"—including the Islamic political current—which have chosen the democratic path to confront the terrorism hidden in religion and the police state, as NPUG claims! We asked the opinion of Muslim scholars regarding NPUG's call.

They rejected the call completely, stressing that NPUG—with its hostile, secular ideas so removed from Islam—represents one aspect of ideological extremism. Dr. Mustafa al-Shak'ah, the former dean of the College of Literature at 'Ayn Shams University, said, 'We must first clearly define extremism and extremists, be they individuals or groups, or Muslims or non-Muslims. Then we can form a national front to confront these extremists. It would be futile to form such a front before defining extremism and its official and popular perpetrators. The subject cannot be treated until it is defined.'

Dr. al-Shak'ah emphasized that all forms of terrorism are rejected and condemned by all religions and constitutions. However, whoever said that terrorism is linked to Islam—this is a big lie. If this were true, Christianity would be the greatest terrorist in the world. The Christians are behind all of the problems and collapses in the world. Having said that, one must nevertheless clarify that many parties, not just individuals, practice extremism. The government's insistence on usurious transactions, its permitting of the manufacture of alcohol, and its permitting of adultery and failure to regard adultery as a crime are no doubt extremist.

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 19 Apr 93 p 5



Ideological Fall

Dr. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman opposed the idea, saying:

The problem of extremism will not be solved by the NPUG Party or the government's party. The NPUG—with its materialist, communist, and secular ideas—is a phenomenon of extremism. Where is this front? It is forming under the cloak of the National Democratic Party? The NPUG has fallen ideologically. It has no message or influence in Egyptian society. This is what compelled it to declare its call, which is intended as a deception.

The Solution

Dr. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman said that the solution lies not in establishing a national front defended by communists and secularists, but in giving all currents of the Egyptian people a chance to breathe and define their own destiny, albeit within the limits of Islam and Islamic law. This will be achieved only through a holy war on the part of the Egyptian people.

He asked, "President Mubarak meets with all of the Western heads of state and leaders, the Zionists, and the Communists. Why doesn't he hold a meeting with the ulema and influential Egyptian writers and intellectuals, and listen to them? This is the solution if he actually wants to create a national reconciliation or front." Dr. 'Abd-al-Rashid Saqr commented on this call by saying, "The fact that the NPUG Party is making this call is a great cause for doubt and dismay. Who comprises the Islamic current that would join them? Has it [i.e., the Islamic current] studied and responded to this idea?"

"I believe that any defender of Islam would renounce this twisted path as long as their objective is to strike at Islam through intimidation and extremism."

Dr. 'Abd-al-Rashid implored every individual in the Islamic current, regardless of his group affiliation, not to join or support them.

State Terrorism

Dr. al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Sattar al-Maliji, a professor at the College of Sciences at Suez Canal University and the secretary general of the Academicians Union added: "The idea in itself is good and necessary, although it is strange that such a party would call for it."

Terrorism in Egypt, he said, consists of a struggle between the government and the people. The state, he maintained, is the primary cause of this terrorism because it has closed off democratic channels for the distribution of power. This has compelled individuals to attempt to achieve democracy through illegal violence. A solution, he said, would be to restore legitimacy to the ruling regime—which has been accused of falsifying elections—by holding free, fair elections for the presidency, vice presidency, People's Assembly, and Consultative Council. Such a solution would also include cooperation between these entities to rebuild the state's political structure in general. Fair elections at these

levels would provide a fundamental solution to the problem of terrorism, inasmuch as all parties advocate free elections and emphasize that they will respect the outcome of such elections.

A Warning to Muslims

Dr. Sabri 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, a professor of comparative law at al-Azhar University, emphasized that everyone should support any call made to the Islamic nation which originates in the Islamic nation and is based on the Koran and the Sunna [i.e., the Prophet's statements and actions later established as legally binding precedents], of God's Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation. He warns Muslims against rallying around a call made by a party that is hostile to Islam that is incompatible with the Koran and the Sunna of God's Prophet, because such a call is tendentious, being outwardly merciful but inwardly corrupt.

Confronting Extremism

Dr. Sabri 'Abd al-Ra'uf said that there is no extremism in Islam. If there is a deviation in thinking, we must confront thinking with thinking and argument with argument. This should be done by ulema who are specialists in religion, not by pretenders of thought and the Islamic call.

The Call in Islam

Dr. 'Abd al-Majid Matlub, the chairman of the Islamic Law Department at 'Ayn Shams University Law School, said that Islam calls for the unification of all Muslims and people living in the territory of the homeland in order to cooperate and share responsibility to elevate the homeland and to all stand together to protect it from damage. Muslims and non-Muslims living in the homeland are a single nation representing Egyptian society. Islam urges the taking care of non-Muslims. Hence, all Egyptians—regardless of their religions, ideas, and parties—must confront extremism. This is now required of all of us, each from his own position. I call upon the rulers and the state to show some concern with our lives, to look at our problems, and to be initiators whom we will back.

Dr. Sayyid Rizq al-Tawil, the former dean of the College of Islamic and Arabic Studies at al-Azhar University, said that the so-called national front to confront extremism will not solve the problem, because the extremists are not a grouping or group that mobilizes armies. Rather, extremism is a disease with foundations and causes. It infiltrates the minds of youths. To cure it, we must ascertain and treat its causes. The first part of any treatment is to instill in our youths trust in their leaders and in their leaders' commitment to truth, justice, and fairness. In this way, our youths will trust in the rule of law and in the state finding a true solution to their problems. We must also lay down to our youths that the state implements and adheres to the constitution, that the state religion is Islam, and that Islamic law is the primary source of legislation. Then, if an extremist or interloper is found, he will be disclosed to everyone.

Neighborhood Watches Called for To Confront Terror
93LD0003B Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
25-31 Mar 93 p 5

[Salah-al-Din Hafiz in AL-AHRAM discusses the spiraling violence of terrorist acts and government response in Egypt]

[Text] It has become obvious that terrorist attacks are no longer isolated random incidents perpetrated by small, independent cells but a well-planned and thought out plot by organised terrorist operations with an ulterior goal. In spite of all the campaigns on the part of the security apparatus to control the spread of known organised terrorist groups and in spite of the fact that many of their leadership have been imprisoned, terrorist activities are continuing to be perpetrated by underground groups in the name of religion. In fact it is our contention that they are escalating both in frequency and in violence indicating the existence of a powerful mastermind executing his moves in a long range plan.

The aims of all this are clear and should not be minimised, regardless of our esteem for the efforts on the part of security forces and their daily reassurances that the majority of terrorists have been brought under control. The aim is to destabilise the country, spread alarm, and put security forces into disarray through tactics of sudden destructive hit-and-run attacks.

We can observe the design of escalating violence in the course of violent clashes for which all sectors of the society are paying in life and blood. At first the organised extremists selected Coptic targets. There would be an attack on a church, the murder of a peaceful Christian citizen, the theft from a Christian-owned gold store. At the time, all sorts of fantastic rumors and speculations prevailed to the effect that there was a wave of sectarian strife in progress and that Islamic extremists were out for the wholesale slaughter of Christians. Unfortunately, the mass media contributed to the madness and the Western media picked up on the majority of extravagant exaggerations. In fact, up till the present, the Western media is still claiming that the Muslims are killing Christians by the hundreds undeterred by the police.

Eventually, the plan of the terrorists showed itself in its true light. Copts were no longer the sole target, they were merely an easy initial target in an overall plan to instil panic, beginning with a people who have lived in harmony for centuries in a majority Muslim society. The next stage was the attacks on foreign tour buses, particularly in the south. The aim was not only to strike at the national economy—of which tourism is a vital component—but to transmit abroad an image of an unsafe tourist climate in a country incapable of protecting its citizens and its guests.

Then the plan moved into its third phase of more open armed confrontation. This was when terrorist groups had taken control over certain areas in the district of Imbaba and imposed their rule over Christian and Muslim

inhabitants alike, challenging the authority of the state and waging an indiscriminating assassination campaign against security officers.

The campaign of escalating violence reached a new peak with the bombing of a cafe in Tahrir Square. The cafe, frequented by ordinary Egyptians and young, low-budget tourists, was a well-calculated target. It is located in the most central, busiest square of the capital, in close proximity to major buildings such as the American University in Cairo, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Arab League, the Egyptian Museum and the Nile Hilton Hotel. The message was clear. It said that we can strike at any time and in any place we want, even the most politically and economically sensitive.

The logic in its simplest sense rings true. How easy it is to take advantage of the anonymity of the crowds, walk into a cafe, leave an explosive parcel and kill innocent victims. One can do that anywhere, not just in Cairo. It happened in the New York Trade Centre and it happens almost weekly in London. Such murder is easy. However, it is not so easy for the terrorist message to be translated properly. All we can understand from those acts is that all of us can be the targets of random terrorist violence that make no distinction between Muslim or Christian, Egyptian or foreigner, rich or poor. All of society is the target, on the pretext that society is heretic and must be destroyed so that a new society, constructed along the warped illusions of terrorist groups, can take its place. But such a society could not be governed by any true conception of Islamic Law as the slogans claim.

In face of this, it is no longer feasible for any of us to feign a clear conscience and cast the blame on security forces. We have said over and over combatting violence and terrorism cannot be the task of security forces alone. Security measures are only a temporary solution. Radical treatment of the problem is a long range process and mitigates the mobilisation of all sectors of society to bring about true economic liberalisation, social reform and fully guaranteed personal liberties so as to restore balance to our lives. We must rid ourselves of the environment that gives rise to corruption, poverty, despair and extremism.

If terrorism has targeted all of us, it is no longer acceptable that we remain passive observers or frightened into staying at home and not venturing out. This is precisely what terrorists want. All of society must act in union to stop the trends of violence at source, cutting the supply lines to terrorists and those who support them in the way of money and arms and cutting the lines of communication that permit them to spread their distorted message both at home and abroad.

It is easy to say in this context that the primary responsibility for all this should fall upon the political parties, unions, and social and cultural organisations that truly espouse democracy, in that democracy is the prime victim of terrorism. However, although I concur, permit me to go one step further and make a more profound proposal. Every street and neighbourhood should form an anti-terrorist association that

would instil vigilance against extremism work to combat proponents of extremism and terrorism. Yes, I am advocating full freedom for civilians whose interests are being directly harmed by all forms of terrorist attacks, from those upon foreigners that threaten tourism and foreign investment in Egypt, to the murder of security officers, to the threats against any writers who speak out against the insidious and vicious aims of extremist terrorist groups.

The more vicious and intense the insidious plan becomes, the more necessary it is for society to wake up from its passivity, conquer its fear, and stop relying on security and state services alone. All who are repelled by terrorism must be mobilised to resist it. We know the battle will be long and hard but let each of us begin at home, among our family, friends and neighbours; to rally our forces against this plight. Otherwise our future will be bleak indeed.

Al-Ahram Chairman Defends Government Crackdown
93LD0003A *Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English*
25-31 Mar 93 p 6

[Article by Ibrahim Nafi]

[Text] How are we to deal with this terrorist phenomenon, now that it has been laid bare of all that formerly cloaked its true intentions, which are simply to damage Egypt's economy and destabilise the government?

Before entering into a discussion of this issue I would like to raise another question, which many people consider even more pressing, which is: Has the all-out approach to confronting terrorism in religious garb, which began a few weeks ago, come too late?

I can, for a start, point to a number of considerations that have helped to determine the timing of the start of this campaign, which some people seem to think somewhat tardy!

The authorities in Egypt have tried as far as possible, and in every possible way, to avoid bloody clashes with a misguided section of the public, and has concentrated its efforts on two main fronts:

The first has been its attempt to stem the sources of extremism, in order to prevent the extremists gaining strength by making fresh recruits which they could then use to carry out their criminal schemes to commit acts of violence, undermine the pillars of the economic system and devastate the whole economy. The way the government has attempted to do this is by correcting misconceptions and promoting a correct understanding of things, and urging young people to turn for religious instruction to qualified ulema (Islamic scholars) rather than ignoramuses, mercenaries and those carrying out the schemes of foreign agents to destabilise Egypt and wreck its economy. Distinguished religious figures, sheikhs and scholars have participated in this task, but it has become clear to all that the terrorist organisations only listen or pay any attention to their own leaders, at home and abroad, and use violent methods even against their own members to suppress any opposition or

debate. They even take their violence to the extent of liquidating members who disagree with them or rebel against these organisations.

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Apr 93 p 11



The terrorists' leaders in prison also refuse to enter into any dialogue with respected men of religion, even to the extent of burning books from Al-Azhar that are given to them. They even reject dialogue with venerable sheikhs and imams known for the breadth of their learning, who are also critical of the government themselves, such as Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali and Shaykh Sha'rawi. They simply reject all dialogue and have stopped their ears to any discussion whatsoever.

They have even gone so far as to hurl insults and accusations at sheikhs held in high esteem for their virtue, learning and valuable contribution to the propagation of the true call to Islam.

The second front on which the government is concentrating its efforts to combat terrorism is its handling of cases of violence and terrorism from the security perspective. It is trying to isolate those who actually commit crimes or incite others to do so, and not to widen the net by making sweeping arrests, even though it could easily resort to the methods adopted by Nasser's regime in 1965 when it became suspicious that the muslim Brothers were trying to regroup. Nasser arrested nearly 25,000 people within just a few days, locked them all up and only then started investigating their cases. Those found to have no connection with the conspiracy were eventually released, sooner or later.

In other words, the principle was to lock them up first and then work out why they had to be arrested later. As a result, many people who at the time held top government posts were arrested and held for a few days just to be on the safe side, regardless of legal or constitutional considerations.

The Mubarak regime, however, rejects this approach, and insists on constitutional legitimacy, legality and political pluralism. It is trying as hard as it can not to resort to unconstitutional measures, and to limit its use of the emergency laws. It is granting those detained under these laws the right to appeal against their detention within 60 days, whereas in the 1960s some extremist leaders were held in prison without trial for years, simply as a precautionary measure.

But a full-scale security crackdown became inevitable once the terrorist organisations took their criminal activities too far, to such extremes that they no longer showed any regard for the peaceable Egyptian people's right to defend themselves, the lives of their sons and daughters and their sources of income. And so a full-frontal offensive was launched against the hide-outs of the terrorists who open fire on the police with automatic weapons smuggled to them from across the border with Sudan. A number of police officers and men have fallen as martyrs in the battle to liquidate terrorism, and a number of terrorists have also died.

The Interior Minister's recent statements on the need to check the wave of violence the terrorists have unleashed, and to disarm them, underline the fact that the government intends to pursue its onslaught against violence to the very end.

Meanwhile, the government is prepared to welcome back into the fold with open arms any young men who repent their ways, having fallen into the terrorists' trap by being misled, lured, enticed, seduced and threatened into violence. Those who turn themselves in to the judicial authorities or the security forces will save themselves the dark fate to which the terrorists and extremists will otherwise lead them.

One might quite reasonably ask at this point: You have been arguing recently that most of the bloody acts of violence in which innocent members of the public and policemen have been killed have been carried out by individuals who had previously gone abroad to take part in the fighting in Afghanistan, and infiltrated their way back into the country across the Sudanese border, with Iranian funding and Iranian plans to carry out, aided and abetted by the Sudanese regime.

Why, then, did you allow these people to travel to Afghanistan and Iran in the first place, and to be exposed to Iranian brainwashing?

By allowing the Iranian regime to use them against their own country, these elements have committed a crime against their homeland and their fellow countrymen. But by allowing them to take part in a popular war of liberation, and a jihad against the foreign occupation of Afghanistan, Egypt was only following the logic of its principles, and upholding constitutional legality, democracy and political pluralism by not depriving its citizens of their constitutional right to travel.

Criminal responsibility therefore lies with them and their instigators, and those who have used them as cheap tools against their country, not with the democratic regime in Egypt.

We now have to consider the more important question with which we began, namely what to do to counter the phenomenon of criminal terrorism, and what comes after this full-frontal security crackdown on terrorists within Egypt—but this is something I will have to postpone for another article.

Arrest of 'Innocent' Citizens Criticized

93LD0014B Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 19 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by Masri al-Bardisi: "Egypt Bids Farewell to Its Martyrs"]

[Text] Egypt bade farewell to its innocent martyrs who were assassinated by some terrorists over last few months in most of the governorates. We thus ask, "How long will these clandestine influences spread like decay in Egyptian society, abusive aggressive, and shedding blood?"

We therefore suggest that any minister, governor, or police chief who is unable to comprehend the intricacies of matters surrounding him in his governorate or ministry and unable to identify the true terrorists for the purpose of eliminating them so that Egyptian society may remain calm and Egypt stable, we suggest that he stay at home and draw his salary while someone else who can bear the responsibility takes his place. We suggest this because every day we witness many assassinations and explosions that victimize many Egyptians and their innocent leaders. Every official lauds himself for having captured, arrested, and imprisoned some dyed-in-the-wool terrorists.

It is odd that the opposite becomes evident: a false accusation, leading to the arrest of innocent Egyptians who are not among these terrorists. This produces resentment among the people. An innocent person will thus be included on the list of terrorists because he was arrested and falsely tortured. Egyptian citizens are frequently defamed by officials and accused of being terrorists, yet in reality they are innocent. However, as much as they proclaim their innocence, they are not believed and thus join the list of terrorists.

We therefore suggest that President Husni Mubarak reappraise some officials and emplace those individuals who are able to lead Egypt with him to the shores of safety.

Commentary Blames Terrorism on Interior Ministry

93LD0006A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 17 Mar 93 p 10

[Commentary by 'Ali Faruq]

[Text] The crimes of mutual assassination that the security forces and terrorists are committing against each other are continuing and will become grimmer, I expect, in the coming weeks, because the Interior Ministry and its different agencies still insist on using

the same worn-out methods used tirelessly by all dictatorial Egyptian Governments, both before and after the July 1952 revolution. After each crime, the Interior Ministry immediately arrests hundreds and sometimes thousands of Muslim youths who frequent the mosques! They throw them into jails and employ all methods of intimidation and torture against them until some of them confess their responsibility for the crime in question. Of course, the confession is made under the duress of torture and exemplary punishment. After many weeks, the Muslim youths are released. However, these youths leave prison with intense hatred for the government and the system. They become willing to commit any crime that damages the government. This is where extremism and terrorism begin.

The Interior Ministry has so far not wished to stop using these methods and to follow civilized methods in investigating the perpetrators of terrorist crimes.

U.S. security agencies did not resort to random arrests in their investigations into the explosion at the World Trade Center in New York. We heard no reports to the effect that they arrested thousands of American Muslims in order to interrogate them regarding the incident. Nor did we hear that they stormed mosques in search of terrorists. Even after Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman came under suspicion of having ordered the explosion to be carried out, U.S. authorities did not arrest him due to a lack of evidence against him. Even the two young Arab men who were arrested after suspicions centered on them were treated in a civilized manner, and their lawyers were allowed to be present with them as soon as they were arrested.

The time has come for the Interior Ministry to renounce the policy of striking the "deepest folds of the heart" and to desist from making random arrests, raiding homes and mosques, and torturing suspects.

Only then, will the crimes of terrorism stop!

Human Rights Group Claims Security Abuses

93LD0004A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 31 Mar 93 p 3

[Text] The Egyptian Human Rights Organization has issued a lengthy report on the violation of human rights in Egypt, increased deterioration in the state of human rights, and the lack of respect for the law in Egypt.

The report deals with the bloody and painful events mounted against the people in the regions of Imbabah, Aswan, Asyut, Qalyub, al-Minya, and other places, where innocent people became casualties and old men, women, youths, and children were taken prisoner.

The organization expressed its regret over what had happened and what is still happening in Imbabah, where [text illegible] horrifying violations of human rights. Most basic rights [text illegible] of man, the Constitution, and law of the Egyptians have been blatantly violated by both [text illegible] and al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah.

The organization indicated that this past summer and fall were the climax of the violent events in Egypt. There was friction between al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, the police, and Christians, and all this happened within the hearing and sight of the local governing and security agencies, and sometimes with their direct collusion, as was the case in southern Egypt. This is all certainly due to Egypt's security policy, and does not conform to world human rights standards.

The organization said in its report that both al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah and security agencies had violated human rights. Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah had committed acts of murder and destruction against policemen and their cars and other property while they were acting in their official capacity.

The security forces also violated the constitution, specifically Article 42, which prohibits mistreatment or torture of detainees, depriving them of their needs, or confining them in places not in conformity with the law relating to prisons; Article 44, which reaffirms that sanctity of residences and the inadmissibility of entering them without a judicial warrant; Article 45, which protects the sanctity of private life; Article 46, which provides for the state's protection of freedom of belief and the freedom to use religious slogans; Article 66, which prohibits mass punishment, and provides that punishment is individual, and that there was no crime or punishment; Article 67 that provides for the the accused being innocent until proven guilty in a court of law; and Article 71, which requires the authorities to inform every arrestee or detainee of the reasons for the arrest or detention and the guarantee of the right to contact a lawyer. Thus it violated the Global Charter of Civil and Political Rights, international accords opposing torture, and international standards for the treatment of prisoners.

Examining the Facts

The organization said that it had prepared its report by sending several groups to check out the facts in parts of Imbabah and some regions in which there had been bloody incidents. The organization said that it had tried to visit some police stations and camps of the Central Security forces, but their request was rejected. Obstacles were put in their path, moving them to submit a report to the interior minister and two reports to the attorney general. The these reports, they asked to be taken to the detention areas in the Imbabah police station and Central Security camps to inspect them, to intervene and release innocent detainees, especially women and children, and to prove significant violations of the law and the Constitution, but no one did anything.

One of the Women

In its report, the organization confirmed arbitrary arrests and detentions during any incident in Egypt. This was confirmed by one of the women who was detained in the Imbabah station, who said that the detained women were violently tortured by officers of the station and the

Imbabah police center. The whole time they were detained, they were beaten with sticks, which were also used in the women's genitals. Their clothes were torn off in front of their husbands and children in order to force them to confess to committing crimes or to extract information about the hiding places of wanted al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah leaders.

The organization's mission noted that the police had increased the detention of small children between 8 to 15 years of age in the Imbbah station and police center. They were tortured to force them to tell the whereabouts of their wanted relatives.

Five Camps

The organization's report indicated that the Interior Ministry has in recent years used five camps for torture and detention in southern Egypt: in Asyut, Qina, al-Fayyum, al-Ghardaqah, and Bani Suwayf, in addition to the use of Central Security camps on the Cairo-Alexandria Desert Road for torture and detention since 1992.

The report contains examples of persons subjected to torture until death, the detention of youths, adults, and children. The report contains blatant examples, both composite and by name.

The organization report reveals the existence of sections for the detention of children in the Central Security camps, which are called "children's wards." These wards lack decent living conditions. Children sleep on the floor of the ward, with no bedding or covers. They are denied food for up to three days, and the water ration for sections of the camps does not exceed one bucket per day for 50 detainees.

The report said that state security officers control the camp prisons and conduct the interrogations of the detainees in the prison courtyard. There are three offices to which blindfolded victims are brought to be tortured to extract information. They are beaten on their feet; hung with their feet tied or like a slaughtered animal and whipped with braided wire; shocked with electricity inside their ears, on their tongues, or on their genitals. They are forced to stand naked late at night and have cold water thrown upon them.

Children and Torture

The organization's report cited examples of the torture of children whose ages ranged from nine to 12. These children were tortured in various ways, including beatings with a paddle on the soles of their feet and having their faces slammed against freshly painted walls. There was also the case of a member of the group, a graduate of the Faculty of Religious Jurisprudence, who was beaten on his feet with braided wire. A driver, 25, was tortured at length after having been turned in by gangsters and professional criminals; he had headed a council for

reconciliation and for solving marital and family disputes. Another member of the group was subjected to electrical shocks to the tip of his penis and his tongue; he also was hung from a doorway like a grilled lamb, and a stick was inserted in his anal opening.

Regarding the family of suspect Khamis 'Abd-al-Maqsud, according to the report, the police detained two of his brothers and his father until he turned himself in. They were all subjected to violent beatings until his oldest brother was afflicted with chronic epileptic fits. The same thing happened with the family of 'Antar al-Zayyat, whose 15- and 16-year-old brothers were put in the children's ward and beaten with braided electric wires and tortured with electric shocks to their genitals.

An Incident in Imbabah

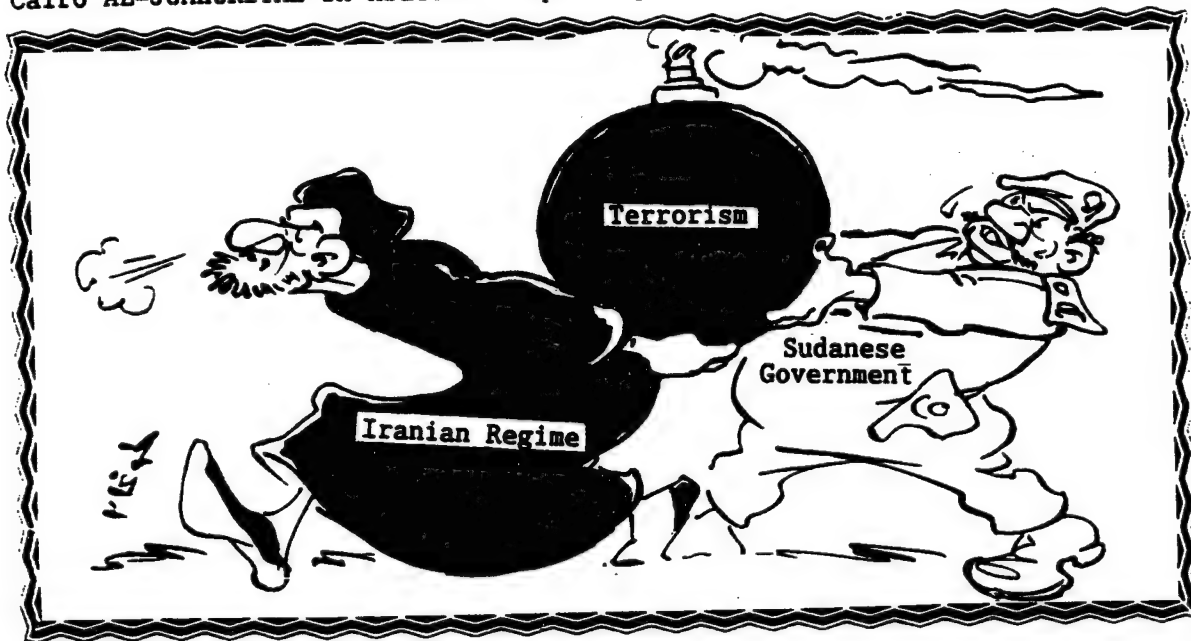
Addressing human rights violations in Imbabah, the organization asserted in its report that the security campaign there last 8 December imposed a curfew, and the police searched people and places without regard for the provisions of the Criminal Law. They also attacked the homes of those suspected of al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah membership late at night, destroyed furniture, terrorized, insulted, and beat the residents. This happened in the apartment of the fugitive suspect 'Antar al-Zayyat, the home of his brother, and the home of suspect Ashraf 'Abdal-Hamid. Furniture was destroyed in the homes of al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah suspects already detained since 1990, as in the apartment of 'Isam al-Jundi and 'Ali 'Abd-al-Zahir.

Mass Arrests

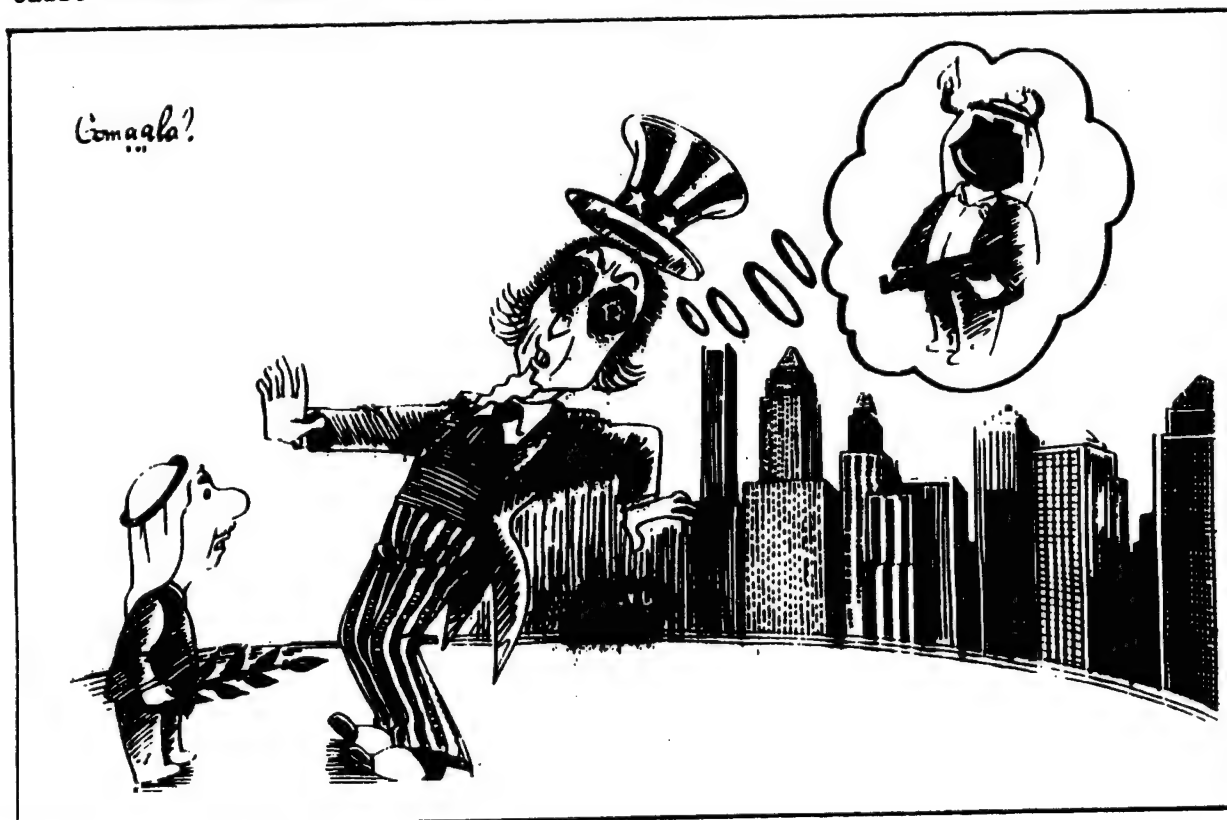
The Egyptian Human Rights Organizations's report added, addressing police practices in Imbabah, that a large number of citizens were arrested at random from the street on the basis of mere suspicion, or because some of them were bearded. There were some mass arrests of all those walking down a particular street once it had been closed. The police also used some criminals to guide them to members of al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, especially in the Imam al-Ghazali neighborhood in Imbabah. The organization was not able to obtain the number of those arrested in view of the huge numbers involved, and the lack of proof against those arrested, in the police station registers.

The organization asserted that the arrestees experienced all types of maltreatment and confinement in poor conditions during their detention in police stations and Central Security camps. The security agencies also detained a number of the relatives of al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah members wanted for arrest in order to force those sought after to turn themselves in or to get information from the family members about their hiding places. The continued detention of family members, even after the arrest of the fugitives, consistently lasted for 15 to 30 days, and the police rearrested some of those whom they had released.

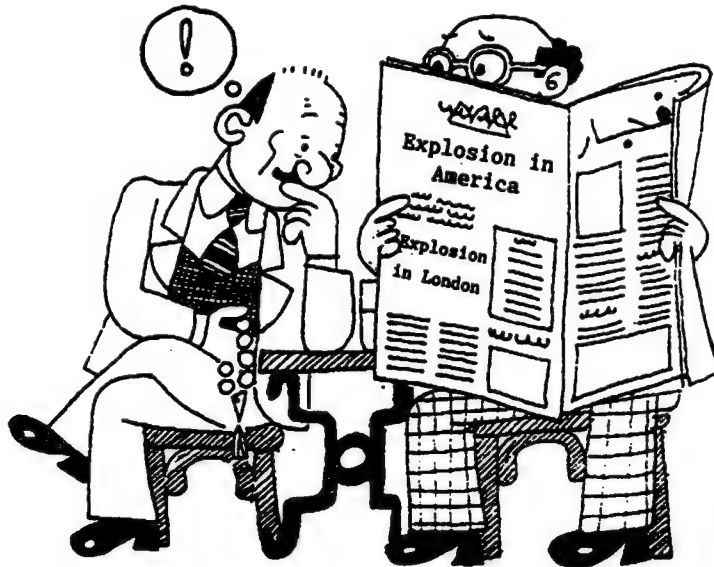
Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 25 Apr 93 p 5



Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English 11-17 Mar 93 p 7



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 8 Mar 93 p 19



Good-for-nothing people. If they had asked our government, they would have arrested the perpetrator long ago and had him confess too!!

Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English 15-21 Apr 93 p 7



Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 26 Apr 93 p 3.



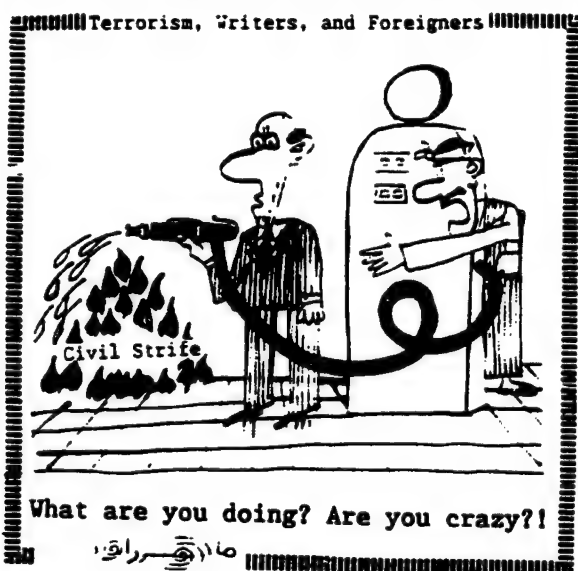
Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Apr 93 p 15



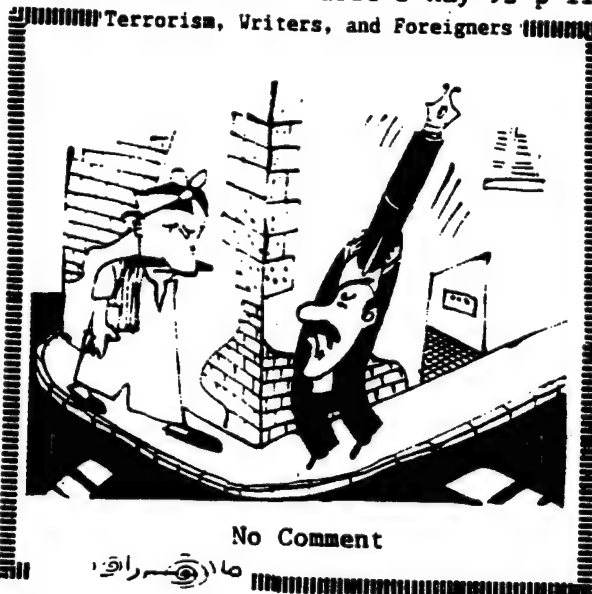
Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 22 Mar 93 p 5



Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Apr 93 p 11



Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 3 May 93 p 11



Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 13 Apr 93 p 3

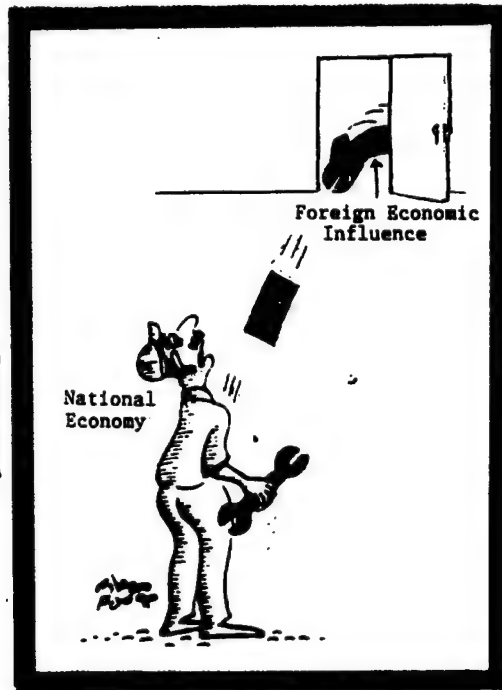
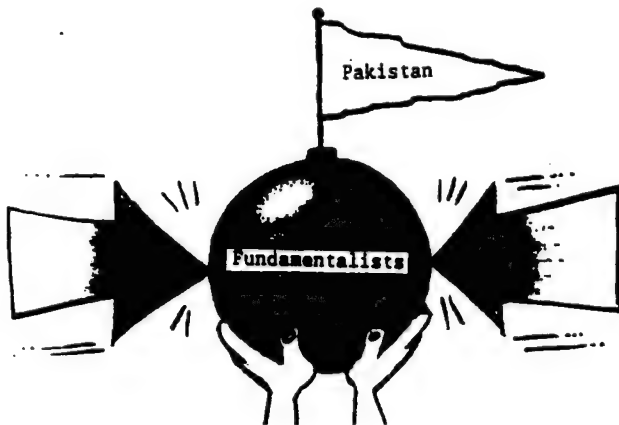


Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 27 Apr 93 p 11

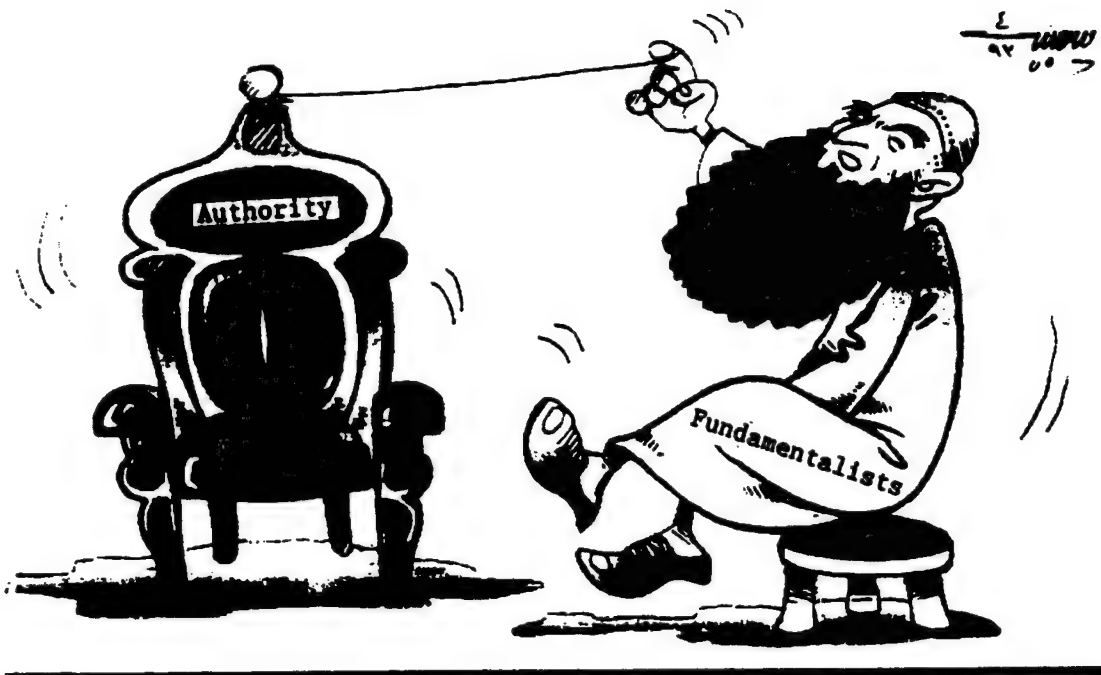


Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
26 Apr 93 p 21

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 1 May 93 p 7



Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 20 Apr 93 p 9



Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 29 Apr 93 p 11 Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English
22 Apr 93 p 3



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 26 Apr 93 p 30



Education Minister's Policies Criticized

93LD0006D Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 10 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by Mahmud Rafi']

[Text] Sincerity, purity, and love characterize the residents of the Governorate of al-Qalyubiyah in general and the residents of the city of Qalyub in particular. Good neighborly relations and community relations have prevailed over time. There are more than five churches—one per neighborhood—in the city, and not a single problem has occurred between the Muslims and Christians. History is the best testimony of this, including with respect to recent incidents, which the education minister inflamed, intentionally or unintentionally, at the Qalyub Secondary School for Girls over the last two weeks.

It seems that the education minister is proceeding according to the statement that "there is no religion in education and no education in religion," whereas—following the destructive earthquake—the virtuous are calling on the government to make amends with God after the education minister transferred Qasim Amin School Director Aminah Shakir to an administrative position because she asked the students to wear the veil in order to protect them. On that day, he decided:

- To transfer a teacher, Thurayya Badir, to an administrative position in the Qina directorate.
- To deduct a week's pay from the director's salary.
- To deduct three days' pay from the librarian's salary.
- To warn the Arabic language instructors.
- To permanently expel three students from the secondary school.

'Probity and Depravity'

Before we elaborate on the Qalyub events, we should make a quick comparison between the secondary school girls who adhere to moral excellence and probity and the students of Cairo University and other universities who participated in the organization called "Shabab Horus," [organization named after the pharaonic god of light] and the indecent language, rebellious acts, and depravity in which they engaged under the supervision of the Youth and Culture Ministry. Mustafa Ahmad, a student in the college of sciences, said that male students were sleeping under the blankets with female students in a train headed for Luxor. They did not appear at all [as published] until a transportation police chief screamed, saying "You must not do that, we are in a Muslim country." He was unable to separate the female and male students. [Regarding] what it saw and heard, AL-NUR is above sully its pages with stories of the depravity of the Shabab Horus at the Youth and Sport Ministry's expense and under Cairo University's supervision. It suffices to say that more than 10 reports were written for flagrante delicto cases (the persons involved returned with marriage contracts), whereas many cases involved only a reprimand of students. And, finally, if it was the blankets at the start of the trip in the train, what happened after an entire week between the walls in the temples and museums?

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Apr 93 p 7



'Repentance Forbidden'

Let us return to the Qalyub Secondary Girls School, where, in a religion class during the exalted month of Ramadan, a teacher, Thurayya Badir, played a cassette tape in the library dealing with repentance in Islam. The tape contains Koranic verses and noble prophetic traditions, but does not speak about Christianity at all. According to a student, M.A., who declined to give her name, the Christian students had asked not to leave and sat with their Muslim classmates in the library. When the Christian girls went home, they told their parents that they were subjected to various types of blows and insults. A student, Manal 'Abd-al-Karim, took part in the conversation. She said, I swear by God, the Muslim students did not hit their Christian sisters.

Then, the Christian students' legal guardians went to the "patriarch" of a large church, who immediately contacted Education Minister Dr. Husayn Kamil Baha'-al-Din. According to a student at the school, Fatimah Muhammad, the education minister issued the above-mentioned punishments without conducting an investigation. Fatimah's classmate, 'Afaf, asks whether repentance is prohibited.

'Student Marches'

The next three days saw boys and girls in the quiet city of Qalyub, including students of the elementary girls school next to the secondary school and Qalyub Boys Secondary School, participate in student marches. Their calls resounded throughout the city—"There is no God but God...there is no religion except Islam." Order was restored at the school thanks to the efforts of security personnel, especially Colonel Ra'fat Subayh, the police officer in charge of the District of Qalyub, who convinced students to return to their studies.

The school director, Fifi 'Abd-al-Fattah, refused to make any statement, except to say that the teacher, Thurayya Badir, took sick leave after the minister decided to transfer her to Qina. As for the teacher Diya' Nazirah, she said nothing. 'Abd-al-Muhsin Salim, the deputy administrator, also refused to comment on the subject, and employees refrained from speaking with AL-NUR or to even return our greetings.

I returned quickly to the Qalyub Girls Secondary School to find a concentration of security personnel there to protect Khalid Hatim, the Education Ministry's deputy in al-Qalyubiyah; Dr. Muhammad 'Atiyah al-Fayyumi, the chairman of the local popular council in the governorate and the general secretary of the National [Democratic] Party; Raghib Nawwar, a member of the People's Assembly; and 'Abd-al-Rahman Shadid, a member of the Consultative Council.

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Apr 93 p 11



Terrorism Concentrates on Ruining the Minds of Students

'Christian Religion Is Better'

AL-NUR attended a meeting between the education minister's deputy in the governorate and only the first/first-third/second students. He tried various ways to calm the students, but to no avail. He said:

The Christian religion is a religion of tolerance and mercy more so than the Islamic religion. "Would that our religion be like their religion." Our master Jesus, peace be upon Him, says "turn the other cheek." As for our Islamic religion, it requires an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and the initiator is a worse villain.

A student interrupted him, and he ordered her to sit down. He said, threateningly, "We will be forced to close the school if demonstrations are held again. I call upon you as a father to his children to return to your studies."

One student asked, "Can one understand this contradiction on the part of his excellency the minister. A while ago, he sent a letter of appreciation to the school for its excellence, and today, he is punishing the school severely, expelling three excellent students without any reasonable cause." He responded, "The minister is an affectionate father to you and has only your interest at heart. At home, your father might be callous at times and compassionate at other times, giving you more money and more clothes. In both situations, he has only your interest at heart, as does the education minister and Egypt, which is giving. We are all one body. We must respect each other's feelings."

"You are my sons and daughters. I will try in this capacity, not in an official capacity, to bring the [expelled] girls and the teacher Thurayya Badir back to school." At this point, a bystander interjected in a whisper: "We must inspire confidence in the hearts of the students by returning—if only verbally—the teacher and their classmates." The ministry's deputy continued:

"We in Egypt are all one weave. Sectarian discord has no place among us. Learn religion from the ulema of al-Azhar and Shaykh (al-Shi'rawi) alone. As for the tapes, they were made by extremist groups."

'Students as Teachers'

The female students of the secondary school in Qalyub held a strike, all of them wearing the veil, the most splendid example of high Islamic morals, as they debated the ministry's deputy, who left them with many questions regarding the arbitrary decisions to expel their classmates. A student, Muna Husayn, asked: "Why has all of this unfairness happened just because we listened to a religious tape that talks about repentance and its requirements and refrainment from disobedient acts."

'Respect for Minister's Remarks'

Dr. Muhammad 'Atiyah al-Fayyumi, the chairman of the local popular council in the governorate, told us that the minister's decisions must be respected and that efforts must be made to implement them, because they all serve the educational process.

An official security source in the governorate said that security leaders told popular leaders in the governorate of the Qalyub residents' strong sympathy for Thurayya Badir, who must be transferred to a nearby place or returned along with the expelled girls as well.

We Shall Account With God; How Excellent Deputy Is

AL-NUR went to Qalama, the village of the teacher (Thurayya Badir) who was transferred to extreme Upper Egypt. With difficulty, we reached her house, which we found locked. When we asked about her, one of her neighbors said, ["She has left the house and will return after breakfast [the first meal after sunset during

Ramadan], because she does not want to see anyone. She has been crying incessantly, because she is a widow and the mother of four children. We shall account with God, and how excellent the deputy is "who wants to send her to Upper Egypt."

While going to press, AL-NUR learned of efforts being made by popular leaders in the governorate to convince Education Minister Dr. Husayn Kamil Baha'al-Din to allow the teacher and students to return to the school. He told them, "I am willing to sacrifice the entire Qalyub administration if the matter concerns sectarian discord." We now ask your excellency the minister, what is your opinion since AL-NUR has reported the full facts?

Court Chief Criticized for Views on Islam

93LD0007A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 10 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by al-Hamza Da'bis, Court of Cassation barrister: "Sa'id al-'Ashmawi Is Trying To Curb Koran Verses With Ideas of Juserand, (Caulain), and (Coubitain)"]

[Text] We side with Islam and the consensus of Muslims against violence and its practitioners, although they commit their crimes in the name of religion and against those who speak as if they were speaking for Islam, while they try, albeit unsuccessfully, to destroy that edifice and demolish every pillar. Those who engage in violence and crime all suffer from the same sickness. We keep vigil against them all and defend the religion of our Lord. Our provisions are the Koran, the practice of the Master of Mankind [Muhammad], blessing and peace be upon him, the knowledge of the zealous first [Muslims], and the practice of the orthodox caliphs. We cling to these things without slackening, and we proclaim them whenever the misrepresenters want to bury them.

We condemn the hateful explosion that rocked a cafe in Tahrir Square. We say that the perpetrators—religious or irreligious—are criminals. If they are irreligious, they wanted to enrage rulers and ruled and cause dissension between the government and the religious. If they are religious, their religiosity is based on a hateful principle that has nothing to do with Islam, which prohibits compulsion in religion. For as the Lord of the Worlds has said, "There is no compulsion in religion" [Koran 2:256]; neither does anyone have domination over other believers or nonbelievers, as the Creator and Destiner has said: "Thou art not charged to oversee them" [Koran 88:22]. God threatens with the greatest punishment those who disobey and wax proud: "But he who turns his back, and disbelieves, God shall chastise him with the greatest chastisement" [Koran 88:23-24].

We condemn what Judge Muhammad Sa'id al-'Ashmawi persists in writing—and the government hugs him as parents hug a child; it puts pages in the best-selling newspapers at his disposal, although the venerable al-Azhar has condemned many of his writings, opposed most of his theses, objected to his books, and struggled manfully against him for the sake of God. May God

reward al-Azhar and its scholars! God has chosen you and set you at liberty in matters of religion!

On the issues-and-views page of last Sunday's AL-AHRAM, there was a fatwa-bedecked article by Judge al-'Ashmawi in which he took issue with Muslims, ancient and modern. He wants to muzzle the Koran's verses by means of man-made sources of legal rules, according to the formalistic or naturalistic school or the historical school—following the pronouncements of Juserand, (Caulain), and (Coubitain), scholars of the French legal school, which drew attention to the importance of historical research for the study of systems of law.

Judge al-'Ashmawi misguidedly and wrongly says: "Verses of the Koran should be interpreted according to the historical source of their revelation or in accordance with the occasions of revelation. Interpreting Koranic verses according to the universal sense of their words leads to serious disturbance in understanding Islamic law and to major differences among Muslims. The result is that everyone makes declarations about infidelity, and attitudes counter to democracy, freedom, and humanism are made to seem justifiable."

The wise judge did not miss the opportunity on this occasion to advertise free of charge in AL-AHRAM for some of his books. He used the chance he had been given to write as a way to increase his profits from his books, to which al-Azhar has objected. On page 71 of one of these works, he decides that the historical source of the punishment of amputating the hand of a thief mentioned in Koran 5:38 ("And the thief, male and female: cut off the hands of both, as a recompense for what they have earned and a punishment exemplary from God. God is almighty, all-wise") was al-Walid Bin-al-Mughirah, because he was the first who in pre-Islamic times ruled that the thief's hand should be cut off. He asserts that Islamic law "took over rules, mores, and customs of society, and these became provisions in Islamic law."

He forgets that the noble Koran—and he does not add the adjective "noble"—is the Word of God, the omnipotent and exalted. It is sempaternal with his sempaternity, eternal with his eternity, and protected by his providence. There is no history before the Koran that can be considered a historical source of it. Pre-Islamic times did not predate the Koran so that the Koran could take over anything from them. Rather, the noble Koran predates history. It is not the making of men, like laws that people legislate at various times and that are influenced by the movement of society or by people's customs and conventions.

Judge Muhammad Sa'id al-'Ashmawi's statement that the verses of the Noble Koran—which he neglects to characterize as noble—ought to be interpreted according to the occasions of revelation does not imply disagreement with the unnamed Islamic groups he is debating. (He would seem to be jousting with windmills or turning aside slightly from the straight path of scientific

research.) No, his statement implies disagreement with Muslim imams who are thoroughly versed in the study of the fundamentals of the faith.

Shaykh Muhammad Zakariya al-Bardisi, professor of Islamic law in Cairo University's faculty of law, says in his book *Usul al-Fiqh [Fundamentals of Jurisprudence]*, 2d edition, 1961, Dar al-Ta'lif Press, p. 410: "Regard is given to the universal sense of the words, not to the particular occasion." He enunciates a fundamental rule accepted and uncontested except by this stubborn judge, Muhammad Sa'id al-'Ashmawi. He seems to be butting his head against rock, but he hides the fact that he is trying strike at Islam itself, not against a minor group.

Look also at Dr. Zakariya al-Birri's *Usul al-Fiqh al-Islami [Fundamentals of Islamic Jurisprudence]*, 1986 edition, p. 222.

Explaining this learned truth ("Regard is given to the universal sense of the words, not to the particular occasion") the learned al-Bardisi says, following learned imams and great legal scholars: "If a legal text occurs, one must follow the universal sense, without regard for any other consideration. One does not look to the occasion for which the text was stated or to the incident that prompted it. Here are some examples of this:"

"1. Some men asked the Messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace: 'We sail the sea, and if we make our ablutions with the water we take with us, we fear we shall go thirsty. Shall we make our ablutions with sea water?' The Messenger of God replied: 'It (the sea) is pure in regard to its water, and that which has died of it [without ritual slaughter] is allowed [as food].' Taken universally, this general formulation indicates that seawater is pure and purifying in cases of necessity and in other cases. One follows the universal implication, without regard to the fact that the questioners asked about a case of necessity."

(If we followed Judge Muhammad Sa'id al-'Ashmawi's idea that the occasion of revelation restricts, ablutions with seawater would be allowed only in case of necessity, which is something that not a single rational person has ever held.)

"2. It has been related that the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, passed by a ewe belonging to his servant Maymunah, which he had given to her, and it—the sheep—had died. So he said, 'Any hide that is tanned becomes clean.' Thus, any skin that is tanned becomes clean; it does not matter whether it is the skin of a ewe or whether the animal has died without ritual slaughter."

(If we followed the judge's idea that general expressions are restricted by the occasion of revelation, tanning the skins of ritually slaughtered ewes would not be allowed, or tanning the skins of animals other than ewes would not be allowed, which is something that not a single rational person has ever held.)

3. The verse about [the pre-Islamic form of divorce called] *zihar* was revealed concerning Maslamah Bin-Sakhr, and the verse about [the pre-Islamic form of divorce called] *li'an* was revealed concerning Hilal Bin-Umayyah. Yet the companions of the Prophet followed the rule contained in these verses, and no one objected. Professor al-Bardisi infers from this that a consensus had formed. Judge al-'Ashmawi ignores it and rains down on our heads a torrent of fatwas, all of them worthless because they are ignorant. They ignore the fact that there is consensus about the rule, "Regard is given to the universal sense of the words, not to the particular occasion."

What an idea that AL-AHRAM or those who write in it should damage or impugn Islam! Islam is exalted by the sublimity of its author—there is no god but He, and unto Him do all things journey.

Secularists Accused of 'Intellectual' Terrorism

93LD0014C Cairo 'AQIDATI in Arabic 6 Apr 93 p 10

[Article by Majdi Salim: "The Truth in the Case of Nasr Abu-Zayd: Wherefore the Organized Offensive Against Cairo University?"]

[Text] While the state attempts to gather all of its vigor to stand as one in face of the dangers now staring at Egypt, specifically religious terrorism and extremism, whose standard is borne by people farthest removed from Islam, the secularist movement has seized the opportunity to take the offensive against all that is Islamic. In this effort, they used the same weapon they claimed to oppose, namely intellectual terrorism, in an intense and organized campaign that calls to mind the past actions of the communists', when their central committee laid out plans for them to proceed as one toward a specific objective and with a carefully considered division of roles.

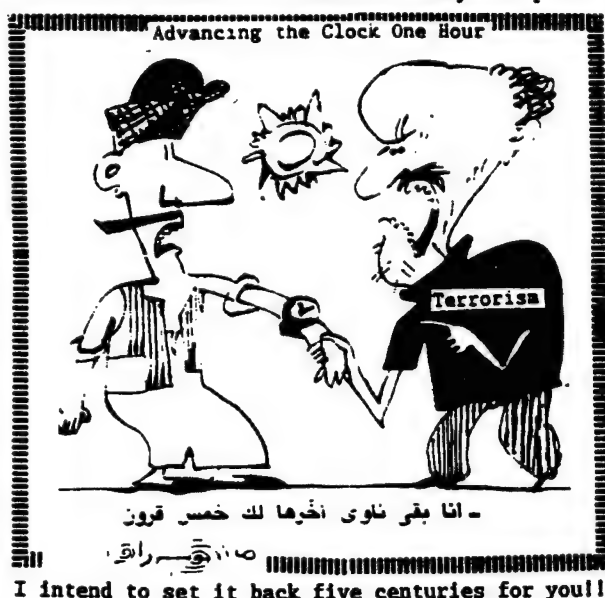
Although the sublime al-Azhar is the favorite target of their intellectual onslaught and terrorism, their offensive this time has been directed at Cairo University. But let us begin at the beginning.

Dr. Nasr Hamid Abu-Zayd, assistant professor at the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, was in the process of obtaining a professor's degree at the Arabic Language Department. In conformity to established rules, Dr. Nasr's academic works were submitted to the specialized academic committee (this being the standing committee for examination of academic work). Three committee members undertook to examine this work, and each submitted a report to the promotion committee. The committee adopted Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin's report, which went as far as to say that Dr. Nasr Hamid's submitted works were in need of revision and refinement, in addition to a new addendum that comprehensively linked the subjects of learning at the Arabic Language Department.

The report added that the academic works submitted do not allow for promotion to the degree of professor in the Arabic Language Department, Faculty of Arts, Cairo University.

Promotion committees often issue such decision, and an uproar such as the one that occurred does not ensue. However, due to Dr. Nasr's affiliation with the secularist movement, certain departments insisted on the display of all-out hostilities against committee members, envisaging that this would compel a number of professors to relinquish their point of view and abandon their conviction.

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 May 93 p 11



Pressure and Threat

Their organized effort began from within the Arabic Language Department at the Faculty of Arts, where professors pressured others and used threats. A report taking issue with the promotion committee's report was prepared and submitted to the College of Arts Council. A serious disagreement over the issue ensued, which concluded after much pressuring, in the submittal of the report to the university council.

Despite what this signifies in overstepping university traditions and conventions, such a report was submitted. However, the university council, under the presidency of Dr. Ma'mun Salama, a respected professor of law, ultimately adopted the standing committee's point of view and report. Some of Dr. Nasr's works were submitted to professors from outside the committee. Their reports were more critical of Dr. Nasr's works than the standing committee had been.

Up to this point, we have not discussed Dr. Nasr's opinions and are still discussing factual matters. We ask, "Who are the members of the academic works committee?"

The academic works committee is comprised of senior professors whose academic qualification, experience, and seniority are beyond reproach. Each has had a doctorate for many years. They are: Shawqi Dayf, Ahmad Haykal, Ramadan 'Abd-al-Tawwab, Nabila Ibrahim, Mahmud Hijazi, Kamal Bishr, Mahmud Makki, Mustafa Hidari, 'Abd-al-Salam 'Abd-al-'Aziz, 'Awni 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, Mahmud (Dhuhni), 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin, and Sayyid Hamd al-Nassaj. These are academic and literary giants with standing in Egypt and abroad and whose qualifications and integrity cannot be impugned.

It has been the practice to form academic work examination subcommittees, each member of which submits a report. The standing committee may adopt what it sees fit. In our case, a subcommittee composed of 'Awni 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, Mahmud Makki, and 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin was formed.

Consensus of Opinion

The general committee adopted Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin's report and approved it by consensus, while Dr. Sayyid al-Nassaj refused to sign. An important observation: Subcommittee members Drs. Mahmud Makki and 'Awni 'Abd-al-Ra'uf ultimately adopted Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur's report, which denotes their conviction of his point of view; they signed along with the other committee members.

What are we to say when the majority reaches an opinion, but from which one or more dissent? Are such few entitled to apply pressure, on the pretext of intellectual terrorism? Would this not signify that such pressure connotes the very same intellectual terrorism and that democracy is found wanting? When the overwhelming majority of a respected and scientifically inviolable academic committee adopts a scientific point of view having its own proofs, it cannot be held culpable save for what its scientific conscience dictates to it.

An important observation remains to be made: The unusual simultaneity and congruence of publication in a number of national and party newspapers and texts, displaying similar wording and presentation, suggest that a single statement was drafted and published almost verbatim in all of these newspapers and magazines. This puts us face-to-face with the possibility that a systematic, well-coordinated, and organized intellectual terrorism operation is taking place against all Islamic intellectuals.

And, then, why did not Dr. Nasr turn to the courts, this being the right that the general order guarantees for every citizen?

As regards Dr. Nasr's intellect, that intellect for which the pens feign crying, I will be content with what he wrote in an article published by CAIRO magazine titled

"The Culture of Development and the Development of Culture," in which he focuses on the subject of Arab intellect and its besiegement by two authorities: the authority of the religious text and the authority of the governing policy. He writes: "There is no escape from that state of affairs save by liberating the mind from the authority of religious texts and setting it free to cogitate with the social and human condition. This will lead to knowledge from which further liberation is gained, thereby refining instrumentalities and developing mechanisms."

Under "religious texts" in this context are grouped the Koran and Sunna. This is the case he intends to use to refute the relationship between Koranic text, in particular, and the intellect, in spite of the fact that Koranic text is not, in any shape or form, at variance with the intellect. On the contrary, dozens of the Koran's verses appeal to man to ponder the universe, to differentiate between those who know and those who do not, and invite contemplation and reflection of the Koran itself and a pondering of its contents.

(Important note: Dr. Nasr was in the process of obtaining a professor's degree in the Sciences of the Koran!)

In the final analysis, the intellectual terrorism that we see today, spearheaded by a group of enlightened individuals who speak of the new instruments and expressions used by some researchers and authors is, in fact, unmarketable. Because when an unknown lyricist surfaces, proceeds to assail the Koran, and fashions—according to his whim—meaningless and morally vacuous statements, and when this nonsense is published by a public publishing house—the salaries of whose employees and production costs the citizen pays for through taxes and fees—and the publisher presents him as someone advancing a pioneering, avant-garde effort, then what that signifies is the existence of those who are scheming to strike a blow at Islam by defamation of the Koran and the insinuation that it is merely a book of heritage and history. In this manner, they are no different from those who falsely don the robe of Islam and commit their crimes against religion and state.

Columnist Reacts to Islamists' Statements

93LD0008B Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
22 Mar 93 p 76

[Response by 'Abd-al-Sattar al-Tawilah to 'Adil Husayn and Fahmi Huwaydi]

[Text] Exponents of the so-called political religious current are continuing their campaign to justify acts of terrorism, which have multiplied in recent weeks. Moreover, they have recently taken broad steps, not only on the road of justification, but also the road of theorizing, to assure every terrorist that he is truly acting under divine orders and that his terrorizing of Egyptians and foreigners is in execution of divine orders.

My colleague 'Adil Husayn, the editor in chief of AL-SHA'B, attacked me on 16 March with an extremely dangerous article. Specifically, the article contained a complete theory to the effect that terrorism against us—the Egyptians—is our duty. We will let his words speak for themselves, lest anyone think we are falsely accusing him.

'Adil Husayn, an influential representative of the religious political current in Egypt, said, "We are not happy with the use of the terms 'terrorism' and 'terrorists' to describe what is happening. The official media is mistaken if it imagines that it is in vogue and does well when it coins Western media terms. In the minds of our youth and nation, the words 'terrorism' [irhab] and 'intimidation' [tarhib] do not carry the sense of being prohibited or rejected in all situations."

"The Koran stipulates the need to oppose God's enemy with force. In this call, it uses, as we know, the word terrorism [irhab]: 'Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of Allah and your enemies' [Koran, 8:60]."

'Adil Husayn concludes by advising the media that it should not simply utter the word terrorism or terrorists and imagine that it has struck its adversaries in a vulnerable spot and destroyed their reputation.

This is a clear declaration by the Labor Party that it does not regard terrorists as criminals or their crimes as terrorist acts, but as the implementation of God's will through the terrorizing of God's enemy and their enemy.

The terrorists declare daily that the current government and even all of society are their enemy and God's enemy, because society is disbelieving. Society therefore deserves to be regarded as fair game and even destroyed. This is an old idea dating back to the appearance of the first terrorist acts under religious slogans.

Nothing is more audacious than AL-SHA'B arming, with theoretical premises, these criminal terrorist gangs, which are attacking simple citizens, public utilities, and foreigners, and which seek to wrest away the livelihoods of millions!

AL-SHA'B went a step further in denying the terrorist character of these actions, which are provoking the people daily. It described them as "guerrilla warfare," an expression that delights the combatants. Moreover, it described this war as a civil war. Civil war means that the nation is divided, with one large segment of it bearing arms against another or other segments. Civil wars usually have legitimacy, because they imply that democratic methods have failed to solve the problems of social classes and groups and that society is divided.

Egypt is not experiencing this condition. There is no civil war in Egypt. We truly do not know how AL-SHA'B or the Labor Party can say that they oppose terrorism while simultaneously issuing such justifications and dangerous

theories. These justifications and theories not only encourage terrorism, but also provide rivals of democracy in Egypt with justification to continue their pressures to narrow the scope of democracy. 'Adil Husayn's attention has been drawn to this a number of times in numerous previous articles.

Had it not been for the imprudent behavior of several leading figures of the religious current in the professional unions, as seen in the position of the Lawyers Union toward the Arab Lawyers Union, the Professional Unions Law would not have been promulgated. Likewise, had it not been for the shameless terrorist acts which occurred, the amendments to the terrorism laws would not have been promulgated.

Had it not been for terrorism to begin with, the government would not have become resolved to maintain emergency law to this day. Those who call themselves the moderate Islamic current must be unequivocally committed to an earnest position on terrorism and terrorists.

The situation has become extremely critical, i.e., outrageous. The Egyptian people is confronting a determination to continue terrorism, as well as determination on the part of various states and parties to continue supporting it.

Speech and action against terrorism must be clear and specific.

We are not asking the Labor Party or moderate Islamist intellectuals to carry rifles, besiege the terrorists' hideouts, and arrest or shoot them if they begin to shoot.

We call on them to come down into the public arena—through the newspapers, conferences, and meetings—to lay bare to the people the crime of terrorism and terrorists and to channel antiterrorism religious slogans and interpretations toward the very youths who are being mobilized and misled by the groups that are charging unbelief and transgression [jama'at al-takfir wal-baghiy].

However, many have supported terrorism directly or indirectly.

Above, we described how AL-SHA'B has supported terrorism directly through what it has written.

Indirect support of terrorism can be seen clearly and distinctly in the [writings of the] brilliant Islamic author known for his moderation, Fahmi Huwaydi.

Huwaydi candidly wrote that, in the moderate Islamic state which he desires, absolutely no party will be permitted to oppose the state. He said that such a prohibition is a basic religious obligation.

We explained to him that this completely contradicts the fundamentals of democratic practice, inasmuch as the democratic world indeed permits parties that call for a peaceful changing of the government. We also called on him to abandon his thinking, which essentially justifies

liquidating those opposed to the application of Islamic law. But he did not respond.

This week, Fahmi Huwaydi defended terrorism and terrorists indirectly.

He took up the traditional refrain of casting doubt on the perpetrators of terrorist acts in Egypt. He resorted to smearing Israel, saying, in AL-AHRAM on 16 March, that acts of terror are committed not only by domestic organizations (meaning Islamic groups), but also by Israel.

Such talk simply means that the terrorist crimes that we are seeing have multiple perpetrators and are not necessarily perpetrated [solely] by the extremist, Islamic current, but by other parties as well. Proponents of this view are exploiting the natural enmity that exists between us and Israel, as a state hostile to our land and peoples, in order to divert attention from the real criminal and to confuse the public, so that it does not direct its resentment toward the extremist groups, which have been the only real perpetrators to date.

Fahmi Huwaydi tells us that it is Israel that imagines that fundamentalism is a wild beast flapping its wings over the region.

This of course belittles the danger posed by the fundamentalism to which the fiends have cast us to destroy our economy and to kill and intimidate people daily.

The truth is that a wild beast is indeed hovering over Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt. The losses that it is inflicting are many. Only yesterday, two ministers were killed in Algeria. In Egypt, the hardworking are its victims, as are writers and intellectuals, e.g., Makram Muhammad Ahmad and the martyr Faraj Fawdah. Fahmi Huwaydi knows that lists containing the names of a number of writers and artists whom the terrorists were planning to assassinate were found in the terrorists' hideouts.

He also writes such oddities as, "In confronting terrorism, we are dealing with apparitions bearing cryptic names. Do we not know who their identity, origin, and how they think?"

Is he right? Are we dealing with apparitions?

We are dealing with well-known organizations. We know how they think. We read the books, statements, articles, and newspapers which express and defend their views. They do not conceal their criminal acts. Did not one of them stand in the military court—an engineer, i.e., someone who is not illiterate—and boast that his group killed such and such a person? Did he not hesitate to take pride in them having killed an intellectual, Faraj Fudah, whose only weapon was his pen?!

Is this fairness and objectivity in presenting the truth, or is it justification, vindication, and the loss of the truth in a fog of inappropriate questions?

In any case, let us move on to another point: What do they want, these proponents of theories that justify the extreme, terrorist current in Egypt!?

Fahmi Huwaydi makes a truly modest, reasonable request. He calls for granting legitimacy to the so-called moderate Islamic current, considering this the best political solution.

Let us first say that there is an Islamic political current which is permitted. It has a party, namely the Labor Party, although a group has split off from it, and the government is seeking to give precedence to this splinter group as the representative of the Labor Party, because of the party's violation of the constitution arising from its transformation into a religious party. The government has not responded to this development to date. I say to date because I see bad omens gathering as long as the Labor Party turns its back on, encourages, and justifies terrorism, as is happening today.

However, Fahmi Huwaydi, I hope that you will ponder our political experience and that of others who have been active in politics throughout the world.

Political concessions on the part of the government come gradually and are the outcome of positions and constant political struggle. If the moderate Islamic current—i.e., the Muslim Brothers—were to take practical steps to support the government in its struggle against terrorism, trust would grow and proponents of Islamic missionary work would be permitted to engage in legitimate political action if their call were to meet with a response. However, what is happening in the arena is the complete opposite of that. Therefore, matters are becoming complicated, and relations are becoming strained. As long as the Muslim Brotherhood continues to issue quarrelsome statements, some of which equate the terrorism of extremists with what they call state terrorism, there is no hope of achieving what you and others are calling for. On the contrary, matters are proceeding in the opposite direction, as evidenced by the Professional Unions Law.

If you are presenting experiences from other countries to support your viewpoint, we present to you the experience of the Red Brigade terrorist organization in Italy. The Red Brigade promotes Marxist-Leninist slogans like those promoted by the Italian Communist Party. However, the latter was in the vanguard of those who fought the Red Brigade organization, organizing labor strikes involving millions against it, because an anti-terrorist position is one of the Italian Communist Party's principles. That party did not intercede on behalf of the Red Brigade just because the latter promoted communist slogans!

As for our colleague 'Adil Husayn, he presents to us and the government a dangerous condition for stopping terrorism. He says, "We, for our part, emphasize that as long as everyone does not concede the need to adhere to Islamic law, the factors which are causing the tension and violence will remain in effect. Moreover, the violence, which is assuming the form of a holy war to apply God's law, will enjoy the support of many."

This condition is of course categorically rejected. No government could accept it, because doing so would mean capitulation to the demands of oppositionists because they are pointing a gun and dagger at the people's chests.

The arena is opened to all ideas. The people will ultimately decide and select. In truly democratic circumstances, the Egyptian people would never allow a return to the Middle Ages and a complete cultural regression under spurious slogans!

Cairo University 'Stifling Academic Freedom'

93LD0002E Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
8-14 Apr 93 p 6

[Article by Lutfi al-Khuli]

[Text] Is Cairo University still committed to academic freedom? It grieves me, as an alumnus of that venerable institution, to have to ask such a question. Cairo University used [to] be the backbone of the modern university system throughout the Arab world, if not the whole of the Middle East and Africa, and was respected worldwide for its high academic standards and freedom of opinion and research.

I have, however, recently received a set of university reports, relating to the case of Dr. Nasr Hamid Abu-Zayd, which are enough to make anyone wonder whether this is Cairo University we are talking about, or some potty little village school run by a tinpot tyrant of a teacher.

Reading these reports helps to explain the allegations and suspicions that have recently begun to spread, not only within the halls of academe but in the community at large, concerning academic standards at Cairo University and Egyptian universities generally, and their ability to turn out innovative, creative thinkers in the various sciences and humanities. Many prestigious universities, not only in Europe and the United States but even in the Middle East and Africa, now refuse to recognise many of our universities' diplomas.

The reports in question concern only one individual case directly, that of a particular academic's dispute with the university, but I think they are in fact also of more general concern in relation to the overall crisis of university education in Egypt.

I find cases like this disturbing, because they make our universities seem more and more like that potty little village school, with its rigid uniformity of thinking and simplistic rote-learning drummed into pupils through fear and discipline, and its hostility to reasoning and freedom of thought.

But to get down to the story of these university reports, let me first introduce the two principal protagonists. The first is Dr. Nasr Hamid Abu-Zayd, an assistant professor in the Faculty of Arts at Cairo University and author of an internationally acclaimed and highly regarded book

on textual studies of the Qur'an, which continues to stimulate academic and cultural debate.

The other chief protagonist is Professor 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin, professor of linguistics at the Islamic college Dar al-'Ulum and a member of the committee responsible for examining the academic credentials of candidates for promotion to the ranks of assistant professor and professor. In addition to making major contributions in his academic field, he is also a member of the National Democratic Party (NDP) and regularly appears on Egyptian television as an Islamic thinker. He was also an adviser to the Rayan Group of Islamic investment companies.

The story began last May, when Dr. Abu-Zayd submitted two books together with thirteen papers and articles, as examples of his recent work, in support of an application for promotion to the rank of professor. Three referees were appointed to assess his work and recommend whether or not to promote him. Two of the three reported back in his favour, while the third—Professor Shahin—found him unworthy of promotion.

There then followed a series of dramatic shocks. The first was that the committee decided, by seven votes to six, to ignore the reports of the two referees (the majority) in Dr. Abu-Zayd's favour, and to accept the minority report of Professor Shahin.

The second shock was that this report turned out not to give a calm, academic assessment of the work submitted by Dr. Abu-Zayd, but instead to heap personal insults and abuse on him, in intemperate and sometimes quite vulgar language, rudely mocking his writings and even going so far as to accuse him of blasphemy.

"Perhaps he is wise to publish his research only in journals with small circulations, so as to avoid readers' reactions," wrote Professor Shahin at one point. "He doesn't dare publish his ideas to society at large, because society would doubtless reject them, and might indeed pass a harsh verdict on them and their author."

And in Dr. Abu-Zayd's article "The Masks of Terrorism," published in the journal *LITERATURE AND CRITICISM*, he found "doctrinal flaws" and "the most abominable disdain for the tenets of religion."

This strange outpouring of invective against Dr. Abu-Zayd reminds one of the village schoolmaster beating and humiliating a bright pupil who dares to question "known facts" and reveal the teacher's ignorance.

When I asked a number of academics and intellectuals what they thought might lie behind this outburst, they gave various answers. I was struck by one suggestion in particular, which was mentioned several times, and although I hesitate to mention it I feel I must.

The people I spoke to pointed out that Professor Shahin was particularly vitriolic about Dr. Abu-Zayd's book "Criticism of Religious Discourse," which he accused of "dangerous exaggeration" and "deliberately and maliciously confusing the separation of Church and State,

i.e., the separation of political and religious authority, with the separation of religion and society."

They noted that in this book Dr. Abu-Zayd highlights the importance of rigorously examining modern religious discourse which, he says, has used religious interpretations to exploit simple Muslims. To illustrate the point, he describes how money investment companies (MICs) have exploited people in the name of Islam, and says that this could not have happened had the groundwork not been laid for them by "mind-deadening" religious discourse, and the myth that the "piety" that brings "blessings" can also bring great "profits." Perhaps this had touched a raw nerve in Professor Shahin, my sources speculated.

The third unpleasant shock was that so many reputable academics should have put their signatures to Professor Shahin's report, aimed as it is at stifling academic freedom and the rational discussion of ideas. Accusing those who hold opinions that differ from one's own of heresy, materialism and blasphemy belongs to the Dark Ages of Islamic history. Doesn't it remind you of the way Bin-al-Muqaffa' was torn limb from limb for opposing despotism and the suppression of thought?

Were these academics at Cairo University intimidated into endorsing this report by some kind of demagoguery? If so, who is responsible for creating such an unhealthy climate, and how can it be combated? Or did they, individually or collectively, come under moral or physical pressure, or both, to sign? If so, from whom—the government? The NDP? Terrorist groups in some religious guise? Or what remains of the MICs in the Bahamas? We have a right to know.

The fourth surprise of the story was the strength of the resistance put up by the forces of academic freedom, as represented by the committee of the Arabic Department and the board of the Faculty of Arts, the two bodies best placed to know whether Dr. Abu-Zayd deserved promotion or not. The departmental committee, meeting in December, decided to draw up a detailed refutation of Professor Shahin's report, and to recommend Dr. Abu-Zayd's promotion.

But this was not the end of the story. On 18 March the university senate—meeting in emergency session—decided to endorse Professor Shahin's report, ignoring the collective and objective opinion of the Arabic Department.

What makes this decision so serious is not just that Dr. Abu-Zayd has been passed over for promotion, but that it symbolises the present condition of academic life in Egypt. The senate has gone along with the prevailing trend, the hectoring of loud voices issuing insults and slanders, and blackmail in the name of religion, to the detriment of freedom of thought and academic work, a freedom fought for, generation after generation, by the long line of heroes and martyrs who have defended Cairo University's independence and enlightening influence against the forces of darkness and ignorance.

The president and members of the university senate have a moral responsibility to clarify, for the record, how and why they came to accept a report like that of Professor Shahin. In fact there should probably be a national debate on the issue of Egyptian universities generally, because we are now starting to see alarming evidence, both within the universities and elsewhere, of the dangers of suppressing intellectual activity, imposing uniformity of academic work and liquidating, whether physically, with bullets, or only metaphorically, thinkers and writers accused of blasphemy.

In other words, the terrorism of the streets has started to spread to the universities, and vice versa.

MB's Renunciation of Violence Questioned

93AF0569C ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 26 Apr p 40

[Article by Ahmad Hamrush]

[Text] I was confounded when I read Muhammad Ma'mun al-Hudaybi's statement denying that the Muslim Brotherhood [MB] assassinated [late Prime Minister] Ahmad Pasha Mahir and Major General Salim Pasha Zaki, and alleging that the attempt to assassinate Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir in 1954 was a "farce." It was "open playacting," he said. He also denied that the MB had anything to do with the assassinations that were committed later. His statement was in response to an article I wrote in a local daily titled "Resisting Terror in Egypt." In the article, I referred to the terrorist crimes that were committed by groups that falsely carry the name of the magnanimous Islam and that all have come out from under the MB's cloak.

I was puzzled by the statement of counselor al-Hudaybi, a distinguished MB official and son of counselor Hasan al-Hudaybi, the MB guide who took over managing the Brotherhood affairs following the assassination of Hasan al-Banna that was carried out by the government of Prime Minister Ibrahim Pasha 'Abd-al-Hadi in response to the assassination of Prime Minister Ibrahim Pasha al-Naqrashi while taking the elevator in the Interior Ministry building. I was puzzled by this statement, for it aroused several questions that I would like to ask regarding the objective of this denial.

Is he really convinced that the MB is innocent of all these assassinations? Judgments passed by the judiciary have condemned them for these actions, and so did the judges among his colleague counselors who protect justice in Egypt. One of these, Ahmad al-Khazindar, was also assassinated with their bullets because he passed sentences against some of them.

Does he want to refute the criminal charges of terrorism and assassination and absolve the MB members of the crimes committed with their bullets and bombs and were

carried out by those who belonged to the secret organization that has been exposed and is still being exposed by the weekly AL-MUSAWWAR?

Does counselor al-Hudaybi wish to draw a line between the MB as an organization and the terrorist groups that wear the guise of Islam?

Counselor al-Hudaybi's efforts to defend the MB is understandable, but what is not understandable is his denial of established facts and attempt to defend such charges, and therefore indirectly defend the acts of terrorism and assassination that have been sown and nurtured in the MB's secret organization, the organization that first appeared in the form of a scout movement. This situation prompted Ahmad Husayn, chairman of Misr al-Fatah Party, to wonder about the reason why the government has allowed the establishment of this army of boys scouts that has become involved in politics. Boys scouts law bans members from getting involved in politics. It is recalled that, after gaining strength, the secret organization was no longer an obedient tool in the hands of the MB leadership.

Operating in an atmosphere of secrecy, such armed political organizations acquire their own dynamism and develop their own views, to the extent that they part company with the political leadership that was supposed to be controlling them. The MB's secret organization was no exception in this case.

Counselor al-Hudaybi's denial of the MB's involvement in acts of terrorism and assassination should go beyond verbal denial. They should launch an attack on the extremist terrorist groups that exploit false religious slogans. Indeed MB members should condemn terror more strongly than anybody else because their group has been historically linked to terrorism and to secret armed groups. It is also because terrorists crimes are harmful to the magnanimity of Islamic religion to which they are trying to belong.

It is the duty of the MB, if they wish to protect the society and religion against extremist terrorists, to be more critical and more aggressive against assassinations, bombing, and terrorism. Today we are engaged in a battle with an internal aggression, a battle that brooks no appeasement or waiting for the fruits to ripen.

We would like point out the attitude of those who like to call themselves independent or moderate Islamists and try to give themselves the right to mediate between the government and the terrorists.

What mediation can there be between the outlaws and the law?

What dialogue can there be between the bullet and the word?

What are the criteria that discriminates among Muslims, giving some of them the right to intercede with the terrorists whom justice ruled that they should remain behind bars?

There is not one single justification for what some are trying to call "mediation," unless it is some kind of a

deception and cheating. Prime Minister Dr. 'Atif Sidqi did well when he denied any contacts [with extremists] have taken place, stressing that extremist and terrorist

elements will be dealt with firmly and in accordance with the law, without laxity in upholding the right of the state and the society.



Intellectuals Criticized for 'Silence' on Terror*93LD0008A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
29 Mar 93 p 4*

[Commentary by Mahmud al-Tihami]

[Text] Terrorism will never succeed in controlling the world. It might cause fear and anger, or alarm security officials in one place or another. But it will never, never gain control.

I believe that this is true, despite the control exercised by terrorist regimes in several countries, e.g., Iran and Sudan, because their control is also only temporary. It is doomed to failure and collapse for the simple reason that it contradicts the logic of life itself, as well as the social contract concept, and the idea of peace and coexistence between supporters of stability.

It is against the nature of things, because terrorism, even if it based on deviant religious ideas, is a crime. Terrorism relies on the use of violence and arms. The only thing preventing someone capable of using arms from using them is compliance with the law and the unwritten social contract between members of a given society. Any individual who is able to kill can lie in wait for his victim and shoot and kill him. Such an individual might also drive by on a motorcycle or in a fast car and shoot with an automatic weapon before fleeing into the crowd, crops, or a residential block, where he would blend in. Anyone wishing and able to do this would find it easy. However, he would become a murderer and criminal regardless of his motives or the excuses which he may offer.

States cannot of course resort to this method. Terrorists, or elements active in this trend, are observed, monitored, arrested, and interrogated. They can also be stalked and liquidated without need for procedures, arrest warrants, and quasi-military confrontations. Several concealed snipers could shoot them using the same method.

However, we reject such a solution, even though it would be easy to implement. We are determined to respect the law and to have recourse to the prosecutor general's offices and the judiciary. The state cannot become a criminal, because it cannot lower itself to the level of criminals.

The state cannot play the role of the terrorist criminal. We cannot permit it to play this role under any circumstance. Rather, the state must perform its regulated role in countering and dismantling terrorism. The foundation of the entire process is that the state acts on behalf of citizens to exact retribution from terrorist elements. Otherwise individuals will seek retribution themselves.

What should a citizen do if his son is killed or his father is assassinated in a terrorist incident? What should a citizen do if his property has been damaged and he has

been deprived of his livelihood because of stupid behavior stemming from reckless conduct and sick thinking?

Should they go out to defend their interests? Can they be permitted to do that?

I do not believe that this would be possible. If it were, our thinking would be as sick as that of the terrorists and our behavior would be as deviant as their behavior.

The correct course is for the state to play this role. We pay taxes and profess loyalty to the state so that it will defend our rights according to the law and the social contract, maintain our honor, and safeguard our freedoms, chief among which is our right to live in security undismayed by fear or the threat of our livelihoods being cut off.

The state is based on its executive apparatus. The security apparatus is in the forefront of the agencies which are opposing and confronting [terrorism]. They must do their work, and we must help them in their national mission.

All agencies are obliged to increase awareness and support. In this regard intellectuals have an extremely important and sensitive role, because they naturally possess the argumentation tools and cultural background to conduct a dialogue.

The fact that some intellectuals have their own opinions regarding some of the incidents that are occurring, and differ with some or all of the government's policies, does not justify their lack of support for the government's confrontation of terrorism and terrorists pragmatically and with maximum force.

There must be no sophistry regarding the war against terrorism. There must be no shirking of responsibility—under any political slogan—in confronting terrorism. We are all but certain that Egypt is "wanted" by some foreign powers with the direct or indirect support and embrace of key figures of extremism and terrorism. We must take action to confront this ugly terrorism that (threatens) our country and our children's future. The intellectual community must strive to open a dialogue with the outside world and its representatives in Egypt, including press and television correspondents throughout the world. The intellectual community must defend its country and call upon the international media to stop supporting terrorism indirectly. Terrorism is like a contagious disease. If some major states continue to watch terrorism with their arms folded and without making the necessary effort, it will grow in other countries and afflict them. At the very least, they should not passively support, embrace, and protect this current under the pretensions of liberalism and freedom.

If liberal democracy in the Western countries thinks that it is safe from terrorist movements, it is deceiving itself. History shows that if the East falls under the sway of terrorism, the West is not saved from it.

A small fire can be contained and extinguished. If it grows, no one will be able to extinguish it, not even the United States of America.

MB Condemnation of Terrorism Discussed

93LD0016E Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
22-28 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by Raniyah Sa'd; first paragraph AL-AHRAM WEEKLY comment]

[Text] Last month, the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood, responding to a call by former Interior Minister 'Abd-al-Halim Musa, issued a statement condemning terrorism. Here, several Brotherhood figures, sympathisers and opponents speak to Raniyah Sa'd about the organisation's position in the current confrontation between the state and the Islamist terrorists.

Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood, said the outlawed organisation rejects all acts of violence, whether they are carried out by militants or the government's security forces. "Violence is not a legitimate means of achieving goals," he said.

Al-Hudaybi denied any connection whatsoever between the Brotherhood, which has been outlawed since 1954, and the more violent Islamist groups. Asked whether the Brotherhood was prepared to play a role in defusing the situation, al-Hudaybi said this was conditional on the government "guaranteeing a wider atmosphere of freedom and allowing the Brotherhood a legal status."

He went as far as to say that legalising the Brotherhood "would absorb the extremists' activities and the whole crisis," and added "the Brotherhood is a popular entity whose influence cannot be ignored."

Sayf-al-Islam Hasan al-Banna, son of the Brotherhood's founder, Hasan al-Banna, and secretary-general of the Lawyers' Syndicate, also denied any relation between the Brotherhood and the underground Islamist militants. "Musa asked us to define our position and when we did, we faced the fact that the government has no intention of joining us in serious action to contain the crisis," al-Banna said.

He added that the bone of contention between the Brotherhood and al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah is the concept of Jihad. He recalled that his father called for Jihad in 1948 "in order to liberate the nation from colonial domination. But now that the colonialists have left our country, there is no need to fight. But al-Jama'ah thinks that Jihad means denouncing as infidel and killing those whose ideas clash with theirs."

Al-Banna said the Brotherhood wishes to play a positive role in containing the crisis. "We want to participate in national action, but the government does not want to give us a chance. We are ready to work hand in hand

with the government to solve the crisis, but the government does not seem to be so serious about solving it," he said.

Ahmad Kamal 'Abd-al-Majd, a law professor who is not a member of the Brotherhood, welcomed the Brotherhood's statement on terrorism because it clarified their position. "Such a statement was badly needed to make it clear that the Brotherhood are divorcing themselves from violence, terrorism, undemocratic tactics and lack of sensitivity towards human rights," said 'Abd-al-Majd, who is viewed as one of the spokesmen for the "enlightened" Islamist trend.

As to the Brotherhood's bid to become a legalised political party, 'Abd al-Majd was sympathetic in principle, although he did not think that the time was right. "It is both wise and legitimate for every movement to get organised and to participate in public life under the constitution's provisions, as long as it does not discriminate in membership and does not advocate a philosophy or course of action that would violate the constitution," 'Abd-al-Majd said.

But legalising the Brotherhood in the current circumstances would not be right, he said. "This step should be postponed temporarily until the present wave of violence is contained or liquidated."

Muhammad Sid-Ahmad, a leftist political analyst, also welcomed the statement from the Brotherhood and supported its legalisation. The statement, he said, "is a useful and good step because it means that they are ready to work within the framework of the (state) institutions."

As to legalisation, Ahmad said: "It is better to have religious parties working within the framework of the institutions. This is better than excluding them and forcing them into the direction of becoming a cover for terrorist activities."

Lutfi al-Khuli, another leftist analyst, said that any new political party must have a specific political, economic and social programme. "The problem here is that the Brotherhood consider their slogan, 'Islam is the solution', as their one and only programme. This is not a practical way to deal with society. Islam should be the background of the party and not its programme," al-Khuli said.

Secondly, al-Khuli added, if the government granted the Brotherhood the right to establish their own party, then it should give the same right to Christian Copts. "The problem is that we do not know if the Brotherhood believes in the multi-party system, including the establishment of a Coptic party."

Moreover, allowing the Brotherhood to establish a political party would not mark the end of the latest spate of violence "because the terrorist groups will not stop until they seize power," al-Khuli added.

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Fadl al-Jizawi, a member of the People's Assembly and leader of the newly established

Democratic People's Party, placed the emphasis on the illegal nature of the Brotherhood. He described it as the mother of all terrorist groups and said no real distinction could be drawn between the two. "The Brotherhood supports those terrorists with money and weapons as they share the same objective of seizing power," al-Jizawi said.

He blamed the government for adopting an indecisive attitude towards the Brotherhood. Recalling that the Political Parties Law prohibits any group from exercising political activity unless it has a party license, al-Jizawi said: "How come they issue statements and have headquarters from which they practice their illegal activities?"

Al-Jizawi described the Brotherhood's bid to establish a political party as a contradiction in terms "because they themselves do not believe in a multi-party system."

Secularist Magazine Attacks TV Cleric

93LD0010E Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
29 Mar 93 pp 23-25

[Article by Ibrahim 'Isa: "Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi, Shaykh of Women and Sectarian Strife"]

[Text] A female student's trip from Cairo to Tanta is a sin. A female employee traveling to Bani Suwayf without her husband is an accursed sinner. Greeting Christians is forbidden; attending their weddings and funerals is a sin. Smoking is without question a sin. Ninety tapes, including 35 on the Last Day, copyright reserved to all Muslims! He hopes to kill Salman Rushdie with his own hand.

The Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi who appeared on television is not the Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi who speaks in his classes at his mosque in al-Duqqi about how the Prophet threatened to put out a Bedouin's eyes because the latter looked at his hair.

He is not the man who declares it a sin for a female student to travel to Tanta University unaccompanied by a close relative, nor is he the man who declares it anathema to greet a Christian and warns Muslims not to offer holiday greetings to Copts. He is not the man who holds his seminars in the house of actress Suhayr Ramzi.

No, he is not the 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi who preaches before thousands of worshipers—half of them women with their children and daughters—in support of the Iranian fatwa [Islamic legal ruling] about killing Salman Rushdie and states that he would kill Rushdie himself if he saw him in the street!

He is not the pleasant, calm, dignified face who talks in the presence of Kariman Hamzah about stories of the prophets and about how the women cut their hands in the presence of Joseph.

He speaks before women and about women differently, and this is his other, real face.

'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi is the new star in the world of shaykhs. Like any newly rising star, he makes a display of being different and distinctive. He is a shaykh with a doctorate (not in Islamic law or traditions). He works at a scientific research institute. He is not blind like Shaykh Kishk, old like al-Sha'rawi, or Alexandrian like Shaykh Yasin Rushdi. He is a shaykh with a new image: youth, stylish glasses, suit and tie, and eyes made up with kohl.

Despite his short time in the firmament of religious stars, he has authored 90 tapes, each lasting 90 minutes. Fully 35 of them are about the Last Day, including exact description and images drawn from the Islamic classics. His tapes are usually duplicated secretly without authorization from al-Azhar or any other authority and are sold in front of the Mosque of Asad Bin-al-Furat in al-Duqqi, where he delivers his lectures and classes, and in front of other mosques. On each tape is the number, the title, and "copyright to all Muslims."

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Apr 93 p 3



In his performance at lectures and classes, 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi belongs to al-Sha'rawi's school of melodious voice, dramatic and expressive delivery, engaging the audience in dialogue, simple examples, family and popular stories, and copious use of slang. However, he differs in several ways from al-Sha'rawi. He does not place great importance on language, commentary, explaining vocabulary, or glossing words. This brings him closer to simple people. Vehemence and sharpness mark his manner of addressing people. He is capable of screaming at someone in the audience who turns to look behind him for some reason: "What are you looking at back there? I am telling you a tradition in which God speaks, and you go looking at the light." Or he can shout at some people who hurried to stand before the end of his class: "Can't you wait a bit? Sit down!" Sometimes he

will say, "No need to wrangle and debate," or, "Do you want to listen to the fatwa, or do you want to argue? We don't have time for you."

Nonetheless, the man enjoys broad and increasing popularity. Thousands come to his mosque and classes. Half of them are women who pack the mosque. He holds special seminars for them at sports clubs, especially the Hunt Club. He has been allowed to use this club for some time as a forum from which to reach the ears of hundreds of women. Another reason for his fame and reputation in this world are his relations with artists who wear the veil and the classes he offers for them. He sometimes holds these classes at the home of actress Suhayr Ramzi, with these artists and other women present. The more 'Abd-al-Kafi berates women and narrows their freedoms—sometimes he goes so far as to pour contempt on women—the more the ears and minds of women flock round him. Some people (I perhaps am one of them) offer complex psychological reasons to explain this popularity among women of a shaykh whose every effort is dedicated to returning women to the home and rending national unity by terrible fatwas guaranteed to cause sectarian strife. Indeed, these fatwas prepare people by thousands of words and hundreds of speeches and tapes for the division of one nation into Muslim and Christian, with the latter not even fit to be greeted!

In his systematic rise to fame, 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi seems to have fully understood the importance of television. He gained his legitimacy through Kariman Hamzah's program during Ramadan. For 30 installments he stayed within the limits of good manners in dealing with the television censors. Thus he gained the credibility of TV stardom, which sooner or later will allow him to reach the televisions of Arab stations, not to mention a forthcoming plan for video tapes. This is taking place at a murderous time, when the mind of Egyptian television is utterly absent (lest its officials become too angry, let's call it a partial absence), so that it forms a fifth column (perhaps also a fourth and third one) for the terrible fever of extremism in society. This fever cast its heavy shadows, in addition to the terrorism of murder and blood, on the recent incident in the city of Qalyub. Extremist cassette tapes (some of our sources state that they were by Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi) caused an outbreak of sectarian strife in a small school there after someone turned on a cassette player so that a shaykh's voice rose from time to time castigating society in a manner extreme, vehement, and crude and thrusting a knife blow at relations between Muslims and Christians.

Now let us pause to listen to what 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi says about this relation in one of his tapes. I repeat that these tapes were available for sale recently in front of mosques and in schools.

Let's turn on the tape.

"Here is a question that asks: 'Our neighbors and colleagues at work are Christians. When their holidays come, we go to greet them with 'Happy holiday, Butrus,

Ishaq, and William.' Is it good to say this? Islam tells you it's not good. Why? They have a holiday called Easter, the Feast of the Resurrection, when Christ rose. Christ slept three days and rose. When he rose, it was to rule the world again. How did the world run during the three previous days? Never mind! We do not want to get into a pointless argument. When you go on Easter to tell him, 'Happy holiday,' you agree inwardly that something called the resurrection of Christ took place. Isn't that true? It is an implied agreement on your part that Christ had a resurrection: that he rose, that he died, that he awoke, and that he was resurrected to rule the world because he was the Lord or the Son of God. All such talk is sinful. It is not right for you to go to a Christian and say 'Happy holiday' to him. If you see him in the street, say to him 'How are you?' He may say to you, 'I am angry at you.' Say to him, 'Why, Butrus? I hope everything's all right. Why are you angry with me?' He may say, 'You did not come to wish me a happy holiday.' Say, 'Did you have a holiday?' In other words, mislead him. Don't say 'Happy holiday' to him. Play with him. The main thing is not to admit that he had a holiday.'"

Let's stop the tape for a moment and ask whether you want any comment from me. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi drills this talk into people's ears and minds as if it were religion—as if his standing in front of a pulpit and a microphone with hundreds of men and women listening allowed him (even if Kariman Hamzah allows him) to ask a Muslim to lie and deceive a Christian so as not to say "Happy holiday" to him. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi does not pour a barrel of oil into the midst of the community for it to burn; rather, he takes us back to history's most decadent time, when Christians on the streets were persecuted by putting wooden crosses on their necks under the slogan of religion on the orders of a mad ruler and brutish fatwas.

Let's turn on the tape—any tape. We hear:

"Someone says to me, 'Sometimes you tell us to do good to the protected minority and the Jew, and sometimes you tell us something else.' Ah! Doing good means you shouldn't wrongfully curse him, condemn him, or hit him. If you work for him, don't steal his money. But don't participate in his weddings. The trouble is that he may make a wedding for his son in church, and someone will come to ask you. 'By God, reverend shaykh, our neighbor and our friend, who stands next to us at funerals and weddings'—and such words. 'Should I go to his wedding in the church? If we tell him no, he will cut us. But reverend shaykh, are we to tell him no, and that's all?' Are you asking or arguing? If you're asking, I've given you the fatwa. If you want to argue, I don't have time for you."

Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi claims to be doing good to the member of the protected minority. Reverend doctor, does doing good to a person mean not cursing, blaming, hitting, or stealing from him? Those are his most basic rights. Violating them is an unpardonable crime, an offense that neither religion nor law tolerates. It is the

natural rule, and there is no need for your excellency to find that people measure up to it only because they do not curse or hit the minority. My goodness! Are you supposed to be cursing and hitting him, too? The real catastrophe is for you not to go to attend his wedding in the church or reciprocate his support for you at your weddings and funerals.

You would "do good" to the protected minority. Good, sir! But what do you call this section from your tape? Let's turn it on and listen. (All the quotations are given verbatim in colloquial Arabic.)

"Should I take the initiative to greet a Christian? A Christian comes to me. Should I greet him first? No, don't greet him first. 'Well, if I do greet him, should I say, 'Peace be with you'? No, say to him, 'Good morning,' or 'Good evening. How are you, sir? What cold weather we're having! Why is your face so pale, unpleasant one?'"

Do you want more from the TV shaykh, the handsome doctor, the imam of women, the shaykh of female artists, Suhayr Ramzi's lecturer? Do you want more massacring of religion by shaykhs who are doctors?

How does such talk get spoken?—an important question!

How is it spread and broadcasted?—a more important question!

How does it get the seal of the official media and Egyptian television?—the most important question!

The tragedy is that people believe this talk. They pass it among themselves and from house to house. They feed it to their children holding their mothers' hands in the mosque or under their care at home.

How is it that children take these tapes to school?

And you ask why the terrorists are successful!

I will tell you how they succeed. Listen to this section from the tape, and you will learn how. Let's push the button and turn it on:

"When Iran declared that Salman Rushdie deserved to die, was it right or wrong? It was right. When I was asked in Canada—I was there two years ago and they asked me about the Iranian fatwa on killing Salman Rushdie—I said that if I saw Salman Rushdie, I would kill him. And the story of our minister, when he went and the man cheated him and the story fooled the minister. He ought to have been more clever than that, because he was an apostate and infidel."

The minister was Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, the minister of religious trusts, who was always smiling and always traveled in the caravans of right guidance. We have not obtained any cassette tapes of that yet.

As for 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi, he will kill Salman Rushdie if he sees him.

God give him health and strength, strengthen his body, and sharpen the blade of his knife!

This woman is the one who deserves the main credit for Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi's fame and stardom. We won't mention dozens of opinions, fatwas, and ideas that he repeats like any youth belonging to the extremist groups—like the dozens of tapes and speeches that rain down on us about women's veils, their work, and their body parts that must be covered out of modesty. They deal with women as if they were devils walking the earth. These fatwas have been given repeatedly, and we have replied to them repeatedly, but they never weary, and so we have tried not to grow weary. But here we shall investigate a new case that our new doctor, 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi, has raised. Let us listen first:

"Life and its fast pace have made your daughter go to Tanta University, while your wife studies in Asyut University, and your sister goes as a ministry representative in Bani Suwayf and is to travel with the delegation going to Aswan. The question is whether it is permissible for a woman to travel from here to Tanta without a close family member. No. In only one case is it permissible: in the company of a reliable woman, if she is going on the pilgrimage. That is the basic principle. Another view is that this principle does not apply unless she has a close relative with her. Therefore, a girl who travels every day or a woman who travels without a close relative is out of the question. A woman may travel 80 km only with a close relative, otherwise the angels will curse her, so that she turns into a sinner. One should not talk about one's wife being in Bahna University or Suez University. Whoever approves of such things rejects the commandment of God, the Almighty and Exalted."

So let life in Egypt grind to a halt. Let every woman student on the college campuses be a sinner cursed by the angels. Millions of family members of such girls have been rejecting the commandment of God all these years! Similarly all the women who traveled to the Gulf in search of a living! Let every wife stop traveling to Tanta or Suez, because she will be a cursed sinner!

Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi says: "This is not the opinion of religion; it is the ordinance of religion and so must be carried out." He also says: "Smoking is without question a sin. Whoever argues with you about this, you should not put a cigarette pack in his mouth; no, you should put something else in his mouth."

Because we are afraid that if we argue with 'Umar 'Abd-al-Kafi he will put something else in our mouth, we have turned him off for now!

Media Criticized for Not Confronting Terror
93LD0010D Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
5 Apr 93 pp 18-19

[Article by 'Abd-al-Sattar al-Tawilah: "Victims Fall While Government Is in Political Coma"]

[Text] "Panic Grips the Egyptian Scene," "Terrorism Attacks Innocents in Aswan"—these and other sensational headlines appeared on the front pages of most Egyptian newspapers last week. The terrorists launched intensified violent attacks as never before. Policemen and officers fell victim. Many ordinary citizens were wounded. Two Egyptian Copts were killed in Suhaj. It became clear that the terrorists were the ones determining the time, methods, and weapons of attack and that government agencies were on the defensive, able only to react. Sometimes it was an inadequate reaction characterized by ignorance and gross negligence. Such was the case when a bomb exploded in the middle of the al-'Atabah fire station while it was surrounded by officers, soldiers, and ordinary citizens as if they were looking at a box of candy.

Yet the government is silent, as if it were in a state of stupor or bewilderment. There is no political or media action of any kind against terrorism and terrorists. It even seemed that the government attached little importance to its slain policemen. Surely, millions of Egyptians were incensed by Egyptian television's abridged presentation of the funeral of slain Major Samir Mansur Riyad. The presentation lasted only a few seconds, and television did not show the anger or the shouts of the crowds that accompanied the funeral procession. At the same time, there was a long presentation of the funeral of the late former prime minister, Kamal Hasan 'Ali. Although we naturally respect and appreciate his historic role, the funeral of the hour was that of the martyrs of our current heated battle with terrorism.

The funeral of the martyr Samir Mansur Riyad involves a story that reflects the political climate that dominates the mentality of the National [Democratic] Party (NDP) and officials. I received a telephone call from Professor Khalid (al-Fishawi), who is a member of the committee preparing for the reopening of Wadi al-Nil Cafe, which terrorists blew up in al-Tahrir Square. It is to be a popular opening to prove that the people condemn terrorism and destruction. He suggested to me that we contact the NDP to postpone Major Samir's funeral for a day so that a mass demonstration could be mustered to express the people's anger at terrorism. Many people in fact did contact the party, trying to have the idea implemented, but all efforts failed. The martyr's funeral procession set out without broad popular participation; only a few hundred people attended it spontaneously and expressed their anger. We the Egyptian people and government might have expressed our condemnation of terrorism and our commitment to national unity, had hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Christians marched in the funeral of the Christian martyr who gave his life as the price for confronting terrorism.

Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English
13 Apr 93 p 3



It seems perfectly evident that the government is determined to remain in a political coma from which it does not want to wake. Those who fear the people and mass movement are still stronger than any current within the ruling party that wants to rely on the people as those who have most to gain from eliminating terrorism. It is the people whose freedom and democratic development are being harmed by terrorism. It is the people whose daily bread is being snatched away by the sabotaging of the economy. It is the people whose lives are being threatened, because the bombs are exploding anywhere, even in cafes and public squares.

Waking from the political coma requires only that the government launch a political campaign against terrorism and terrorists. Experience to date—and the experience of all countries in combatting terrorism—has proved that security agencies and their actions are not sufficient by themselves.

The terrorists in Egypt depend on one particular thing: the existence of economic hardship that the public experiences and corruption pervading various areas of life. As a result there is popular anger and reluctance to support the government.

The public therefore regards the activity of extremists with sympathy. They consider it a rejection and revolt against the bad conditions that the people experience as a result of the government's mistakes. Or at least the

public takes a passive position regarding this activity, even if it assumes terrorist forms.

Whenever the extremists feel that popular anger against the government is increasing or that apathy is rising, they will increase the doses of terrorism, so that people will sense the government's inability to protect them or solve their problems that occasion the terrorists' anger and criminal acts. What then is the justification for the existence of this government or the entire system? The terrorists hope that the system will become unstable, whereupon they will be able to vault to power by any means.

Such is the thinking and plan of the extremist groups. As the reader will see, it is a plan for a coup. The orientation toward a coup that dominated the entire political Islam current in Egypt since its birth in the thirties was no different from this contemporary orientation. True, political Islam's so-called moderate current and its theorists, like our colleagues Fahmi Huwayda and Dr. Muhammad 'Umarah, say they believe power must be obtained by legitimate democratic means. Many, however, doubt that the entire moderate current of political Islam agrees on this view. They base their doubts on the objective fact that the moderates still have not agreed to enter the fight against extremism and terrorism; indeed, they have frequently sought excuses for them and justified, if not defended their terrorism by various explanations and theories.

In a previous article in this magazine, we explained how the newspaper AL-SHA'B presented a theory of terrorists that denied they were practicing terrorism: They were merely implementing the Koranic verse that calls for frightening the enemy of God.

In the 30 March issue of AL-AHRAM, our colleague Fahmi Huwayda, who is deemed a member of the enlightened religious current, wrote describing the current terrorists operations in Egypt as "a civil war between secularists and Islamists"! He said that the call to form a national front might be a plan for a secular alliance to combat the current Islamic tide and that this would inflame and entrench that civil war!

First, describing events in Egypt as a civil war is an exaggeration of what is happening and gives the terrorist extremist current a kind of legitimacy; for a civil war means that there are two halves in the society, each of which has an army and weapons and is fighting for some cause.

Which is not true. There are no masses and armed armies fighting for a cause against the army of the Egyptian Government. There are only political gangs engaged in criminal terror operations against the entire people and against its destiny and future—like Italy's mafia gangs and Red Brigades.

Saying that there is a civil war in Egypt makes it legitimate for any country to join the terrorist side, arm and fund it, and perhaps recognize a legitimate government for it in exile or on liberated territory.

For example, Sudan's Islamic government could supply the civil war's Islamic army with volunteers, arms, and money. It could establish training camps. It could even form an international Islamists' brigade like the one it formed during the civil war in Afghanistan.

As for the Egyptian Government and its supporters, they would have the right to bomb the positions of this civil war army anywhere with airplanes and summarily execute prisoners as rebels and inciters to rebellion.

Do you see the slippery slope on which our colleagues stand who justify terrorism and bestow on it mistaken, complicated, tortuous epithets, diverting attention from the true description and correct diagnosis of terrorism?

Terrorist revolutionary thinking and methods have been at the heart of the intellectual and ideological fabric of many religious groups throughout history. Bad social conditions merely constitute fertile ground for their extension and spread. The ideology is set forth in the writings and books of many imams and professors of religion whom everyone knows. The books can be found in kiosks in the markets of Egypt in the context of the country's full freedom of expression.

Where do the NDP and the current government stand on all this? When will they wake up and turn to the very simple political solution? That is to form a national front against extremism and terrorism from all of Egypt's political parties and bodies that announce their acceptance of this goal. Even if we think they are "cheating us," the test lies in implementation and practice. The words of those who try to cheat will be exposed.

The strange thing is that major writers affiliated with the regime are calling for a national front. We know that meetings have taken place for talks on the subject, but it seems that there has been no serious movement in this direction.

The opponents of such a front have therefore seized the opportunity, and they too have called for a front—but not the front that the people want at the present historic moment.

The advocates of political Islam call for a national front against imperialism and corruption. They are trying to overwhelm us in a maze of the domestic problems we are experiencing.

We ask whether any struggle against imperialism can take place when the people are repeatedly surprised by someone stabbing them in the back with the dagger of terrorism.

Can the nation's forces devote themselves to combatting terrorism and widening democracy when the terrorists are exploding bombs every day, striking down victims, and obstructing the progress of development?

Stability and security are the fertile soil in which the struggle to realize national, democratic, and social goals can grow and develop.

Are there any occupation forces exciting the people, so that they might be united to fight against them?

There are none. There are only shadowy elements that terrorize, assassinate, and destroy. The people can indeed be mobilized against them.

The struggle against the terrorists is a struggle for democracy and for saving Egypt from the abyss of falling into the rule of darkness and backwardness.

Terrorism's hidden supporters are trying to portray what is happening in Egypt as a war between secularists and Islamists. What secularists, and what Islamists? The Islamists have long existed and advocated their ideas. Those they call secularists have not tried to demand that they be prevented from being active and propagandizing for their ideas. If we take the Marxists in particular, who, if one allows the expression, are the most secular of the secularists, they once defended and still defend the Islamic current's right to political activity. They are the ones who stood and still stand against torturing even terrorists.

We have defended the right of each group to political action. Our only demand is that dialogue and legitimate channels be used and that terrorism and violence be avoided. The battle began when the terrorism began.

The government itself, which is hostile to Marxism, fought the extremists only when they turned to violence. Before that, it used to put them to use in striking at Marxists and Nasirists!

There is no civil war between secularists and Islamists; there is only dialogue and intellectual conflict. The public will judge in the end. Personally, I firmly believe that with democratic conditions for all forces the so-called Islamic current can be defeated popularly, especially after the terrorist crimes and practices of the so-called Islamic governments in Iran and Sudan. They have all ensured that the image of Islam will be distorted and that the public will be frightened of any government that raises Islamic slogans.

A war between secularism and Islam was never an issue in Egypt. The only thing that makes many democrats criticize the so-called moderate Islamic current is its frightening silence about the terrorists' crimes. This has led the government and many political forces to think that these terrorists are the secret military wing of the Islamic political current in general.

If that current were to stand with the democratic forces against extremism and terrorism and with the call for broadening democracy, we should all be standing together on one side in the same ranks, talking to each other, resolving our differences by debate, and airing them without violence, murder, or assassination. The people in the end would judge. Let competitors compete in this way—if you really are democrats and concerned about democracy.

Finally, National Democratic Party and government, wake up!

Columnist Questions U.S. Role in Supporting Terrorism

93LD0002F Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in English
8-14 Apr 93 p 7

[Article by Salamah A. Salamah]

[Text] Several clues have emerged in recent days to indicate who is manipulating the forces of extremism and terrorism from outside Egypt. Not that this means, in my view, that we can afford to ignore the other factors that help to foster and promote the spread of terrorism inside the country, chiefly the lack of facilities, unemployment and corruption, as well as the fallings of the school curriculum, the media, political practices and the security clampdown.

The investigations carried out to day by the American authorities into the five suspects arrested in connection with the World Trade Centre bombing (the latest being Abu-Halimah) are still far from being able to provide us with a full picture of these men's plans, objectives, sources of funding and relationship with extremist Islamic groups in Egypt. All we know so far is that Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman has become a TV star in the United States, and that President Mubarak, when asked if Egypt would be seeking his extradition, said that since the Americans had agreed to take him in the first place they could keep him!

The most significant fact to have come to light, however, is that lines of communication exist between extremist groups in Egypt and the Arab volunteers, including Egyptians, who were recruited, trained and armed to fight alongside the mojahedin in Afghanistan. The United States continued to supervise and help fund and organise these operations until only recently, and there has been no denial from American officials of rumours that the CIA still controls these people in Peshawar, near the Afghan border in Pakistan. This area is said to have become a breeding-ground for the export of terrorism, perhaps primarily in the service of American objectives, or perhaps with other parties like Iran in turn exploiting them for their own ends. Amidst all the killings and chaos that have broken out among the various Afghan mojahedin groups, it has become an easy matter for all sorts of parties to exploit these people for terrorist purposes.

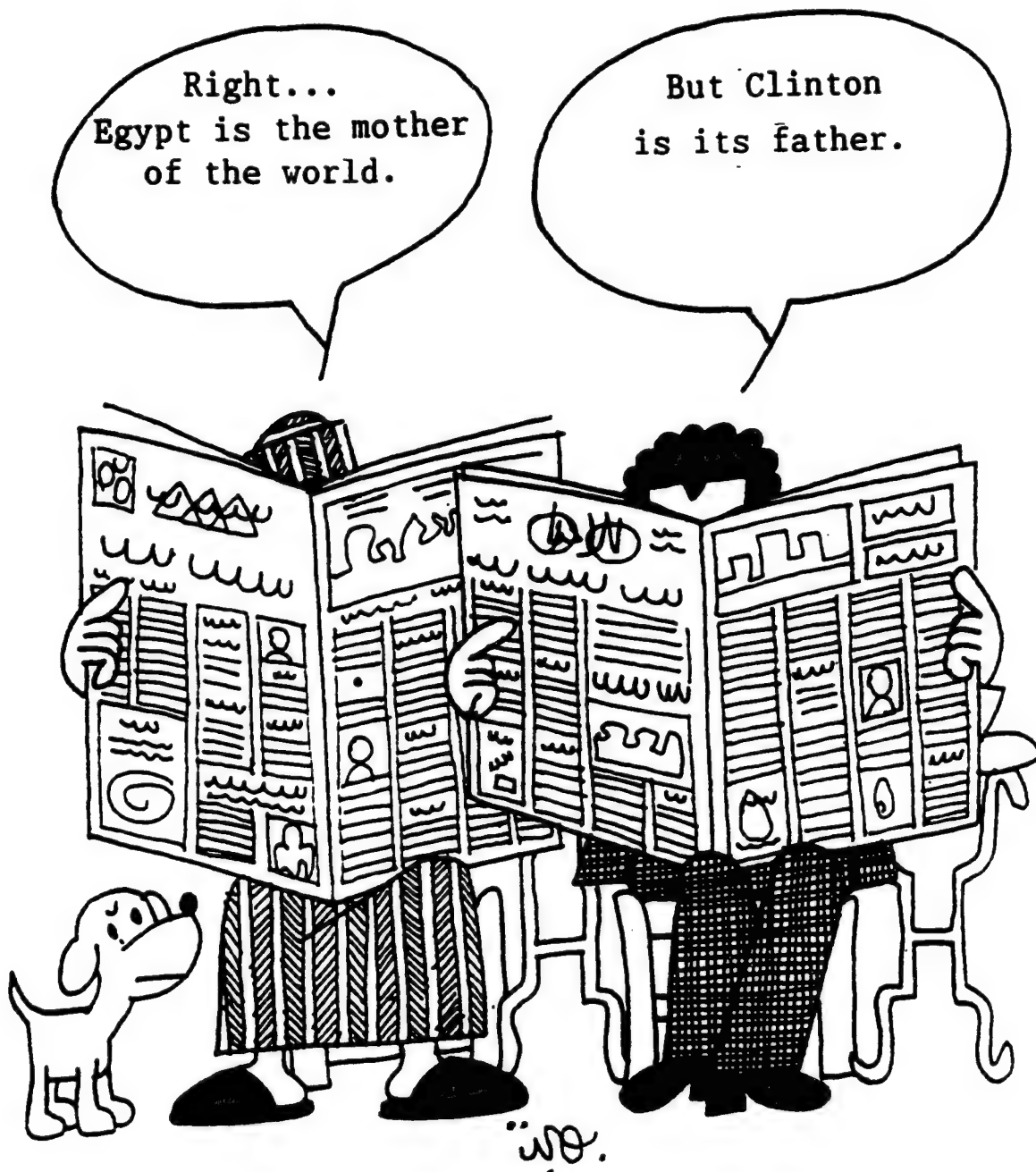
According to Western sources, certain leaders of extremist groups in Egypt have fled to Peshawar and settled there, where they are working in collaboration with 'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf, one of the hardline mojahedin leaders who used to receive financial and political support from certain Arab states. These people reportedly remained in contact with their American sources of funding until they recently turned against them. It now seems clear that some of the threatening messages that have been faxed to Egypt originated in Peshawar, which suggests that these groups are now trying to shift their activities to Egypt.

One can therefore understand why President Mubarak was keen to discuss this problem with the Pakistani Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, once it was known that Peshawar had become a training-ground and exporter of terrorists. Pakistan has promised to cooperate with

Egypt to prevent extremists from using Peshawar as a base for their operations against Egypt and other Arab states, but what is even more urgently needed is for us to know how far the Americans' assistance to these groups went, and try to stop it.

Clearly, various strands and manipulators of terrorist activity in Egypt have come together and become dangerously intertwined without anyone noticing it until recently—and Iran (or Sudan) has by no means been the only channel for such activities!

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 12 Apr 93 p 7



Scholar Accuses West of Anti-Islam Conspiracy
93LD0001A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 3 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Mustafa Khalifah: "West's Conspiracy Against Islam Began 500 Years Ago"]

[Text] At the seminar of the Institute for Islamic Thought in al-Duqqi, the eminent Islamic thinker Dr. Muhammad 'Umarah spoke about the West's attempts to contain the Islamic world and strike at the heart of the Islamic community. He spoke about the increasing ruthlessness of their ceaseless attacks on Islam and Muslims.

Dr. Muhammad 'Umarah began his talk by saying: "The West began to encircle the Islamic world 500 years ago. It celebrated this at the Barcelona games on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Muslims from Western Europe. The West, I say, began by occupying the Arab world state by state. Then came the universal calamity with the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement. The Islamic world was divided into weak, emaciated minisates. The crisis climaxed when they overthrew the Ottoman Empire in 1924."

He added: "This fundamental battle continues until today. After the land was occupied and the wealth ended, the land became a margin for the West's economic, political, and military security. We became attached to the Western center, even in names. We and our countries were given names that signify subservience to them: They call what is near to them 'Near East,' what is

middle relative to them they call 'Middle East,' and what is far from them is 'Far East.'"

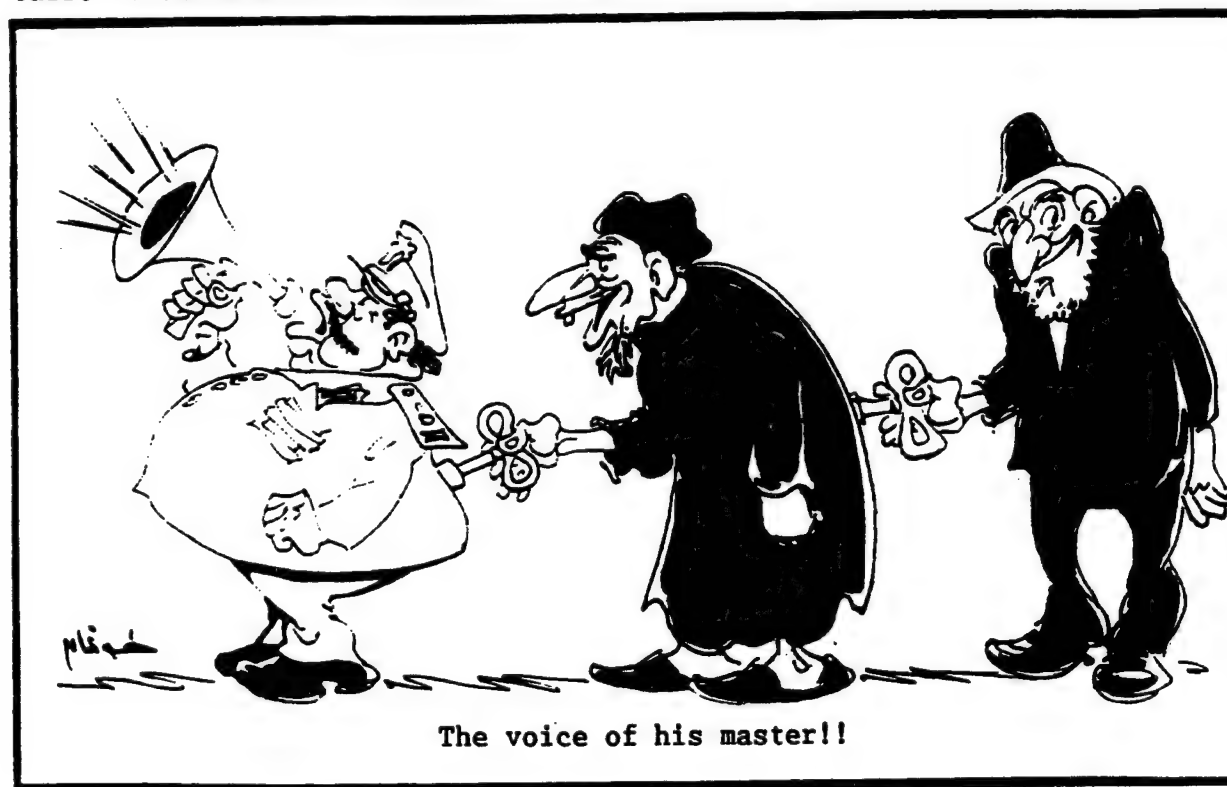
"After this attachment was accomplished in politics and economy, the battle with identity began—the essential battle. The nation that is defeated in a battle but has kept its essence, identity, and independent will—that nation will strive to acquire the means of power to liberate territory. But if it loses its identity, it surrenders, and that is the end of that nation."

"The West's battle against our Islamic identity is an ancient battle. They have been able to create currents of thought among us, political and intellectual parties, schools, societies, research institutions, and universities. All these have come to impress our minds with the Western pattern in accordance with Western methods in an effort to dissolve the identity of the Arab Islamic nation, in order that surrender may be literary, and that subservience may be weighted with support and permanence and with the extinction of the distinctive identity of the Islamic community."

Collapse of Communism

Dr. 'Umarah said: "Western civilization has now declared its objective. It has begun to increase its hegemony and its power in the form of the arrogance of power in a self-evident way. The murder, expulsions, rape, and humiliation occurring to the Islamic world today embody the idea of a return of Western crusaderism to confront the South, especially Islam and Muslims."

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 10 May 93



"After the fall of the communist evil empire, the West began to proclaim in explicit terms that Islam, its nation, and its world are their new foe. When NEWSWEEK asked the foreign minister of Italy, the ministerial head of the European Community—in other words, the spokesman for Europe—what was the justification for the existence of NATO after the end of the Warsaw Pact, he answered that confrontation was coming with the Islamic world. NEWSWEEK asked him how such a confrontation could be avoided and averted. He said that the West should mend its affairs and that others should accept the Western model; otherwise the world would be in a highly dangerous situation. His words mean that we should give up our identity and will and our civilizational, cultural, and doctrinal peculiarity; otherwise NATO will be armed and ready for the new confrontation against the Islamic world."

Islam, the First Challenge

He noted: "In January 1990, a specialized English magazine published a report about Islam and Marxism and about Islam and Christianity. The report said that the prevailing idea in the West now is that Islam is the new enemy. Why? Studies say that Islam has proved exceptionally resistant to secularism. Despite modern science, Islam has defied secularism. Religious faith in Islam remains stronger in its people than it was 100 years ago. Therefore, Islamic culture is the only challenge to Western culture, whose civilization is one of doubt, nonvolition, and disintegration. So it is not we who say that the West is intensifying its pressures and making Islam an enemy; the West's own thinkers and leaders are the ones who declare this to the public."

Nixon's Book Exposes Western Conspiracy

The eminent thinker Muhammad 'Umarah proceeded: "We have also read Nixon's book and what he says about the Islamic world. He says there are three currents in the Islamic world. He calls the first the reactionary current and argues that it is reactionary because it dreams about the delusion of Arab unity. The second is the progressive, or secular, current that advocates the West, and the Western countries should back and support it. This model is embodied in secular Turkey. Nixon says explicitly that it is trying to link the Islamic world to the West politically, economically, and intellectually. The third current, which he calls the 'frightening' model, is the Islamic fundamentalist current. When Nixon talks about the features of this fundamentalism, he speaks with great care. He says that the backers of this current set out from the past, but they do not live in it—they look to the future. They are not conservatives. They are revolutionaries who want Islam as religion and state. Implementing Islamic law is their one goal for reviving Islamic civilization."

"This is the fundamentalism about which Nixon speaks and in whose progress, awakening, and prestige he sees a great danger to Western civilization. Nixon does not forget to call on NATO and other Western institutions to aim their forces at the Islamic world."

He added: "These are the results of the changes that have occurred and that have created something new in the plots of the West. Their plots against Islam have a long history. The problem is not simply fear of Islam merely because of intellectual fear or cultural competition. It is more than that: the geographic position of the Islamic world, the economic treasures on which it sits, and its area of more than 35 million square km, extending from Ghana to Farghana (as al-Mahdi described it) and from the Volga River Basin to south of the equator. It contains nearly one-quarter of the human population—23 percent of the world's inhabitants."

"If we look at the religious map of this planet, we find that half of mankind follows pagan religions or positive religions such as we find in China, Japan, and India. The other half follows revealed, scriptural religions. Half of this half, one-quarter of the world's inhabitants who profess revealed religions, follows Islam, which creates for its nation a unity of doctrine and a unity of civilization. In the other quarter of mankind, one sees sects whose barriers rise so high that it renders them multiple religions. This makes us realize the value of the Islamic community and its still inoperative powers and see the others in relation to Islam and its people."

Bosnian Tragedy

Dr. Muhammad 'Umarah said: "As we said, the West's plots against Islam are self-evident. When we look at but one example, the Bosnia-Herzegovina issue, we find that for the first time in human history an entire people is being driven to death and martyrdom in a short period of time. In less than three months, 50,000 Muslims died as martyrs, with 600 women and children martyrs. More than 1.3 million Muslim women and children have been rendered homeless—a rate of 15,600 a day, or 11 children and women made homeless every minute. More than half the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina now live as refugees. It is clear, naturally, that Europe, America, and their Security Council welcome this eviction from homes, murder, and bloodshed because it is the blood of Muslims. Never in human history have rape camps been established for tens of thousands of Muslim women. Neither the Nazis nor any regime about which we have read in human history did anything like this."

Minorities Issue

"Since the beginning of the Crusades, the West has tried to attract some Eastern religious minorities so that they might be a foothold and entry point through which to attack the heart of the Islamic world. When Napoleon came to Egypt in 1798, he went to besiege Acre in the following year, and from behind its walls he issued the first appeal to the Jews of the world, calling on them to help him establish a French empire in the East in return for his restoring to them their alleged kingdom. Since that date, the Zionist movement has picked up the thread. This shows us that the Zionist entity and project were not a Jewish project. The Jews lived under Islamic civilization as under no other civilization. The Jews in Muslim Spain assimilated into Islamic culture: some of

them were students of the Muslims' philosophers. There was no problem within the Islamic framework. The Zionist entity is a Western project that began as part of the West's plots against the Islamic world. Judaism and Zionism are merely the junior partner in this partnership between the West and the minorities that the West has tried to use as points of entry and footholds in the heart of our homeland."

The Islamic thinker Dr. Muhammad 'Umarah said: "The West sets great hopes upon this escalation occurring in the confrontation between it and Islam. When we speak about the minorities, we do not mean only the non-Islamic religious minorities, but also the Islamic minorities; because the West is playing with the Kurds, who are Sunni Muslims, with the Shi'a in southern Iraq, who are Muslims, and with the Berbers, who are Maliki Sunni Muslims. So we Muslims must take account of the minorities issue as one of the gaps through which the West is intensifying its attacks on us. You must make allowance for this in the Islamic project."

Scholar Criticizes 'Westernization' of Education

93LD0015A Cairo 'AQIDATI in Arabic 6 Apr 93 pp 4-5

[Interview with sociologist Dr. Hasan al-Sa'ati, winner of this year's King Faysal International Prize for Islamic Studies; place and date not given: "Lack of Consciousness Is Behind Society's Passivity in Confronting Extremism"]

[Excerpts] This Saturday, King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz will honor one of the distinguished Egyptians who have left their mark on sociology and sociological studies and devoted their efforts to confronting the Westernization process that has dominated sociological studies in our Arab Islamic world.

This distinguished Egyptian is Dr. Hasan al-Sa'ati, the sociological pioneer who is this year's winner of the King Faysal International Prize for Islamic Studies.

The interview dealt with his academic career and his outstanding efforts and experience in studying Arab and Islamic societies generally, and Egyptian society particularly. [passage omitted]

Westernization of Education

[AQIDATI] From your experience and expertise in education in Egypt over a period of more than 50 years, do you think the educational system now accomplishes its purpose and graduates generations of educated and cultured persons who unite science and religion?

[Al-Sa'ati] Education in Egypt is still influenced by Westernization, though to a lesser degree now than in the past, when Westernization was a fundamental principle in education. If we now look at many books, essays, and reference works, we find that most of their authorities are foreign and Western, even if some of these authorities are shallow. I think this can be explained by what Bin-Khaldun called "fascination with the dominator."

He meant that the dominated is always fascinated and fond of imitating the dominator in everything. This imitation is always blind. This was evident at the time of the Napoleonic invasion and during the British occupation. Education became thoroughly oriented toward Westernization. This led to an educational dichotomy among us between Azharite education, which was not influenced by the West, and education in the official schools, which was influenced by Westernization to a very great degree. When I sensed this, I wanted to call attention to the need for education among us to have an Arab Islamic identity. Therefore, in one of my essays I dealt with the "Intellectual Attack on Young People," something that results from what we call the "inferiority complex vis-a-vis foreigners" [uqdat al-khawajah] in every aspect of our lives. Thus we must work to restore the Arab Islamic identity of education, not only in Egypt, but in the Arab world generally. This will come about only by returning to the Koran, whose meanings and verses we have not yet come to understand. We must also return to the Arabic literary heritage, which is still an area where foreigners are doing the study and from which they are benefiting. Where is the Arab literary heritage in education? There are only husks, at a time when we ought to know everything that our forefathers wrote; otherwise, whoever has no past has no present or future. We must work to fill the intellectual vacuum in young people's minds, so that over the long run, with cooperation from all groups and individuals, we can restore the Arab Islamic identity of our education and gradually rid ourselves of Westernization. [passage omitted]

Society's Passivity Against Terrorism

[AQIDATI] Society is now suffering from the phenomenon of terrorism, which threatens its peace and stability. Popular participation therefore has a large role to play in resisting and eliminating terrorism. Unfortunately, we see that society as an integrated social system is passive in confronting terrorism. How do you explain this passivity?

[Al-Sa'ati] It goes back to the fact that the ordinary citizen does know what his job exactly is in confronting terrorism. Therefore, we must first spread consciousness among citizens of the behavior they should engage in to confront terrorism and knowledge of any information about persons suspected of organizing terrorism. The entire process lacks consciousness, either in confronting terrorism or in a sense of its dangerousness. Everyone is in one boat: if each is not aware of his role in protecting the boat, it will sink and take everyone with it. The main task in confronting terrorism belongs to the security personnel who are responsible for protecting the nation from within, whatever sacrifices they have to make. They are like the soldiers of an army in battle. It is not the losses that count, but what they aim to achieve—the nation's peace and security.

Prescription for Treating Extremism

[AQIDATI] We would like you to present a succinct social prescription for treating the phenomenon of terrorism.

[Al-Sa'ati] I say only that one should trust his Lord. Piety is the treatment for all social matters. If a person fears God, he will feel that Muslims are to each other as a compact building, each part of which strengthens the other. He will also understand that changing the abominable by one's hand is not everyone's right; it is the business of the government or the ruler alone, lest each person make himself legal authority, judge, and executor. Correct understanding of the Koran and Sunna is the only way to treat the phenomenon.

Whose Responsibility?

[AQIDATI] Whose responsibility is it to teach religion properly, since such teaching is a main factor in treating extremism?

[Al-Sa'ati] It is the responsibility of the parents first, then of the school and all the institutions and groups in the country in the widest sense. I say that it is the responsibility of adults. Next, it is the responsibility of the person himself. He must ask about what he does not understand, so that he learns about pure Islam. Human nature is good, which is why the Prophet said, "Consult your heart." It is also the government's responsibility to increase religious consciousness among young people through schools, universities, and information media. Young people must realize that the enemies of Islam, fearing that Muslims will cleave to it, seek to turn us from true Islam by all means from without and from within. If we look to the Holy Koran, it will make us learned in all fields. Furthermore, in the Koran we have the lesson of eight nations in societies that lived and then became corrupt; they did not obey God's commandments, and so He destroyed them. Is this not a lesson for us, that we should avoid that for which God annihilated and destroyed past societies?

Secularist Current

[AQIDATI] Supporters of the secularist current are trying to promote certain claims to separate Muslims from their religion and spread secularist principles that have failed in Western societies. Do you think these people will find acceptance in Egyptian society?

[Al-Sa'ati] I would say that the secularist either is ignorant of Islam because of Westernization, or has read Islam but not understood it. Or he has been put to work against Islam to implement what the West wants of him. Intentionally or unintentionally, he becomes a tool serving the interests of the West and Islam's enemies. This secularist current can be successfully confronted only if the Islamic consciousness of Muslim youths is increased from an early age, so that they are immunized against all base, destructive currents that aim to uproot

the Muslim from his Islamic roots and color him according to their whims, giving us Muslims without Islam.

Shaykh al-Ghazali: West Contemptuous of Islam

93LD0004C Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 31 Mar 93 p 10

[Text] Islamic evangelist Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali spoke, in his sermon on the blessed 'Id-al-Fitr, delivered in the courtyard of the Mahmud Mosque before hundreds of thousands of worshipers, on the vicious campaign being waged by the enemies of Islam against Muslims throughout the world.

Shaykh al-Ghazali exposed the campaign that is aimed at destroying mosques in many parts of the world—in Bosnia-Herzegovina, India, and other countries. AL-NUR is publishing the text of Shaykh al-Ghazali's sermon:

Praise God, springs of goodness flow from his hand, and clouds of blessings descend thanks to his grace and mercy. Praise him, Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Earth, and Lord of the worlds. Glory is his in the heavens and the earth. He is mighty and wise.

God is most great. Praise Him and glorify Him always. Praise God, who distinguished the day from the night.

Tell all those in the heavens and earth, tell God he was destined to be merciful to make you to the Judgement Day with no doubt in it; those who lose their souls do not believe."

I testify that there is no god but God; dominion and praise are His; His is capable of all things. And I testify that Muhammad is His servant and messenger, the guiding mercy, offered grace, and illuminating lamp. Lord, blessings on our lord Muhammad and on his household and followers. Now the month of Ramadan is over. Those who benefit have benefited, and those who lose have lost, but as long as life remains, as long as there are eyes to see and hearts to beat, then the path to God is open. He accepts penitence. Those who miss the opportunity for good deeds have missed them, but the good deeds of the month remain. We can set things right and compensate. He whose station was humbled may be exalted, and he who has fallen a step behind may advance and move forward.

What is Ramadan? It is the month of the Koran; it is the month of study, and study is something more than mere recitation. It is the profound contemplation between the master of the prophets and the master of inspiration, peace be upon them. The Koran remains, and the best of what we find in it, what the great Prophet, peace be upon him, described in it as, according to what was recounted by the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali Bin-'Ali-Talib: "It has news for you, news about you, and judgement among you. It is the season that is not to be abandoned lightly by tyrants smashed by Almighty God. Who strives for direction anywhere else will be caused by God to

stray. He is God's strong rope, and the straight path. He is never misled by caprices or deceived by tongues, nor is he worn out by excessive response or repetition. He listened to the demons; they heard him say, 'We have heard a recitation [Koran] with wonderment, guiding to righteousness, and believed in it, and we will have no partner with our Lord.' Who has been told the truth and ruled justly and treated wisely, who has been called to follow the straight path." The Book, praise God, is in our hands. We read it night and day and hearken to its guidance, its lessons, its promise, and its warning, what it enjoins and forbids, so that we may do what God commands and avoid what Almighty God forbids as long as we live. The path to God is open, and he accepts penitence. Ramadan is the month of fasting, and fasting is in opposition to the arrogance of bodily instincts, to the food and sexual instincts.

These two instincts are the mill wheel by which mankind moves along on the five continents. People are addicted to this wheel, which does not remain, but he who can control himself, rule his temper, curb his desires, and understand the wisdom of fasting, one's control over his nature, and resist his desires, whoever understands this can fast all year long. He has the recompense of fasting and the recompense of keeping vigil. Fasting is a culture that lasts all year long. Our prophet, peace upon him, said, "Many a man gains nothing from his fast but hunger and thirst, and many a man who keeps the vigil gains nothing but sleeplessness. Whomever has not rebuffed untruth and acted on it, there is no use in rebuffing food and drink." The context in which all of man's devotions take place is that of ethics; whether spiritual, as in trusting, fearing, and loving Almighty God, or whether it is humanitarian, as with truth, loyalty, mercy, and patience, we need it.

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 26 Apr 93 p 5



The Western World: "Very good. But we must continue the campaign against Egyptian tourism until they are convinced of the need to transfer the Khufu pyramids abroad."

Keeping vigil does not build a community if their morals are bad. We must create order in the chaos prevailing in the Islamic world, with good morals, and know that God, when he wanted to praise His prophet, said, "You are a great creation of Mine." So let us set up our prophet and know the truth of devotions in our faith. It is not just a matter of standing and prostrating—these are signs and appearances. There is no hunger or thirst in them; they are only means of raising the soul higher, lofty traditions, and noble acts.

My brothers, Ramadan was a month of victories, and it is dear to us because we celebrate our victories. It is beautiful because we recall that our forefathers strove and fought and triumphed. But, my brothers, we must face reality in the Islamic world, and the reality of the Islamic world is very gloomy. It requires us to wake up and learn what is demanded of us, and what is being plotted against us.

I heard with my own ears on the BBC that two days ago three large mosques were destroyed in eastern Bosnia, and their domes and pulpits were leveled to the ground; that grass was brought and put on the dirt so that people would forget that here had been a mosque there. The environment has changed so that Islam will disappear, but what happened in Bosnia is happening in India. After the destruction of the Babri Mosque, which had stood for four centuries, many mosques were destroyed, but we only get this news bit by bit. But I get the news from its sources, from those who see and contemplate, and they say that many mosques were destroyed.

What is happening to Muslims now has not happened for a thousand years. What is happening to the Islamic community? Our community must wake up from its sleep and realize that it must provide great service to its faith.

Our faith does not know haste. It is great; it does not ask people to listen to a preacher for a day and that is all. Dealing with evil is long work. What do you say of a man like Noah, who kept praying for 950 years, praying to God, never growing weary or angry, never despairing? He kept praying. Some people pray and get no answer and do not despair, grow irritated, or disgusted, but must keep persevering in their prayer, wisely, and with righteous exhortation, in the face of people's rejection of their religion without worry or irritation. Those whose pitfalls of rage open up will not do to build nations. Building nations requires patience, and defending them requires patience. What we must not forget is that what failed in past years will not do in minutes and hours, but requires years of equal recompense for the years in which ruin and destruction were prolonged. The Islamic community has been deteriorating for long years. The caliphate ended 70 years ago, and yet those who call upon the Islamic League and build Islamic brothers throughout the whole Islamic world are working. I may say that today is better than yesterday, and I may say that tomorrow will be better than today when we rely upon

God and trust in him, when we act upon His truths, do what we must to obey His Almighty rules.

Brothers, Ramadan is over. I saw in it aspects of good in our community, things that truly gladdened my heart. I found the wisdom of God in the openings of the paths and along the roads. I saw many hungry people fed by those who did not want their food. God said, "Striving for his highest Lord's sake will please Him." This is the best we see in the month. I look out and see that the future is covered with many clouds in the whole world, in the five continents. People expect crises and troubles. What of these crises and troubles? We bring our troubles only to Almighty God. We trust that we are resting upon a strong foundation that will not crumble behind us. If we rely upon God, do right by him, and behave according to Islamic values and cling to them, the outcome will be good, and the future will be good. This is what we hope for, for all, and may God grant us success. I was one of those who enjoyed Ramadan, as all of you enjoyed Ramadan, but I often asked myself: Is the food in my hands available now to our deported Palestinian brothers? No. They do not have this food. Do the oppressed and encircled in Bosnia have food? No, they do not. I am a Muslim man, and I understand the saying of my prophet, peace be upon him, in which he said, "Muslims are like one body; if one limb suffers, all the other limbs are affected with sleeplessness and fever."

How can a Muslim be hard-hearted, not feeling his neighbors' hunger or weariness, their pain, illness, defeats or disasters? How can he be a Muslim?

We must realize that the Islamic community now numbers 1.2 billion Muslims. Enough of the war of statistics, which says there are only 1 billion. That is a fight over less or more in numbers, but Muslims are one-fifth of the world. That is, of every five people on this globe, there is one Muslim. If each Muslim were really proud of his link to God, and trusted and relied on him, and faced all people with this faith, would Muslims be weak?

I have seen those siding with blasphemy, which disturbed me and made me marvel and say, 'Is it possible that Egypt may be said to be terrorist?'

Egypt is known as a simple land with good, religious, faithful people, satisfied with little, and praising God. This people sent, through the Ministry of Awqaf, a group of al-Azhar scholars and Koranic reciters to France, which barred them out of contempt for Islam and hatred for this faith.

These white-skinned, black-hearted people, bothered by this faith, contemptuous of its people, accuse the Egyptian Ministry of Awqaf of being extremist or irresponsible, and accuse the reciters who went to recite the Holy Koran of being so-and-so—why did they bar them?

This is contempt for Islam. If these misled people grow fanatical in their error, is it the people of faith who think so little of their faith and are careless in their demands, who cheapen and ignore it? We do not want that. We

must go back to our faith strongly, rationally, and hopefully, and improve the way we behave with one another.

I am one of those who call for limiting the celebration of holy day to raising religious banners, not celebrating them with chaos, anarchy, rage, and talk—all this is meaningless. Our Islamic world is defeated around the globe, laughed at and wasted. Why the agitation and anarchy? Why all this?

What of Arab ethics and Islamic ethics? In the old days, if an Arab deviated, he said, "I will not drink liquor (which was allowed in the Age of Ignorance [before Islam]) until I realize my revenge. And if he settled his score he said, "Give me a drink," and was almost drowned in the waters of the Euphrates.

If our nation is compliant, let us not laugh very much. Let us not sing very much, or engage in anarchy. Let us have very little of that which fills the Islamic nation with meaningless mirth, so that we will not be told on Judgement Day, "Your shame is that you were pleased on earth with other than the truth."

Scholar on Islamic Issues, Extremism

93LD0015B Cairo 'AQIDATI in Arabic
30 Mar 93 pp 4-5

[Interview with Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Marzuq, general secretary of Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, by al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, Basyuni al-Hulwani, Muhammad al-Abnudi, and Mustafa Yasin in Cairo; date not given: "Muslims Have Become a Mere Voice, Their Conferences Mere Words"]

[Text] Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Marzuq, general secretary of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, is an Islamic scholar who possesses a great fund of experience in organized Islamic activity and a publicist who enjoys a great fund of trust at the Islamic grass roots.

Everyone was optimistic when he assumed the general secretariat of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs. They expected intensive concrete activity based on his experience working at the World Islamic League and his participation in many conferences and debates inside and outside the Islamic world. However, the activity did not turn out to be commensurate with the man's reputation, experience, and great potentials.

We therefore went to him carrying many charges. He opened his heart and replied with complete candor, having told us first, "My sustenance and yours, too, depend on God."

[AQIDATI] The Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs is one of Egypt's major Islamic bodies. Citizens, however, know almost nothing about the council and its activities, especially in recent times when all religious bodies and institutions have been obliged to intensify their efforts to

confront the phenomena of extremism, violence, and terrorism. What is the reason for this?

[Marzuq] The council and the Ministry of Religious Trusts form a single agency. The council's activity is an integral part of the ministry's activity. The council participates in one way or another in meetings and talks that take place throughout the country—either through studies prepared by the council's committees or through its scholars.

While on the council, I have been present at two conferences—the fourth and fifth. The former was to discuss conditions of the Islamic community after the Gulf War and attempt to conclude a settlement between the two hostile sides. Naturally, it led to no concrete result because the effects of the war still had not ended. Nevertheless, it opened to way to possible dialogue for this purpose. The latter conference was to survey the future of the Islamic community and to set the Islamic scene on a middle path away from terrorism and extremism. We hope the conference's recommendations will find their way to implementation.

The council's efforts are not merely to create media publicity. We prepare for conferences by means of research, studies, and speakers. In addition, the council prints and distributes Islamic books to spread Islamic culture. We have two types of books. There are books of the Arabic literary heritage concerned with deepening roots in the Prophet's biography, history, and other studies—with priority given to multivolume sets that have not been completed. The second type consists of books that discuss contemporary issues.

There is new interest now in books to be sent to Muslims of the Commonwealth of Independent States. We have already sent four Russian-language books on prayer, alms, the pilgrimage, and the confession of faith.

Our books always spread a certain intellectual outlook representing a balanced mean that emanates only from the Islamic scholars of Egypt.

The committee on the Prophet's biography has published simplified selections from Bin-Hisham's biography of the Prophet.

The committee on Sunna is now printing 200 selected Prophetic traditions in Arabic with adjacent English translation. The book will come out in a few days.

Mere Talk

[AQIDATI] The council's concrete activity concentrates on conferences to which Islamic scholars from various places are invited—conferences that cost hundreds of thousands of pounds. The facts indicate that these conferences are merely media shows whose recommendations never reach implementation. Why waste our time and money on useless conferences?

[Marzuq] Yes, that is true: Most conferences are mere talk. That applies not only to the council's conferences,

but to all Islamic conferences. I attended over 20 conferences during my work with the World Islamic League. At one time I used to ask the director of the conferences department to get the recommendations of conferences two or three years previous for proposal again.

That was significant. If conference recommendations issued two or three years earlier were not implemented and we were forced to propose them again, it meant that the field was dead and that words or ideas had no reverberation. I hold that the problem is not the crisis of Islamic scholars or thinkers. They give expression to the actuality of the Islamic community. They hope to overcome its problems and bring it out of its crisis. The problem lies with the decisionmakers.

For example, assume for argument's sake that we want to form an army to end the conflict in the sister nation of Somalia. The decision is an easy one that would be approved by any ordinary Muslim. Yet if you say this to the head of any individual Arab state, he will tell you he cannot do it. There ought to be an Islamic force on whose basis the decision will be made and the army will move. It is the same with the question of relieving the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The question has caused consternation in the Islamic and international community; yet no one has moved, despite over 60 recommendations. What is the value of a community that lives by producing words? It began with the oratory of Imru' al-Qays and 'Antarah. Muslims—not just Arabs—have become a mere voice with no impact. This is because the entire situation requires reshaping. A summit conference ought to be held at which leaders and commanders discuss the possibility of bringing the Islamic community back to its proper position. The concept of ummah (community or nation) is lacking. The thesis of Islam has been subjected to fragmentation, so that there is the Islam of Khomeyni, the Islam of 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, and many other Islams. If we want serious action, such problems must be treated at the root. Until now we have been moving on the surface. Our issues and concerns have become superficial. Leaders must move to set matters right.

The formula of Islamic solidarity has already been proposed. Could this be a prelude to something bigger such as an Islamic confederation? Such formulas exist among us. There is the Islamic Conference Organization. It could achieve something, though it lacks activism to begin with. It includes the Islamic Court of Justice and the Deterrent Force.

If some accuse Islamic conferences of being marginal and merely rhetorical exercises, I admit that this sometimes happens. There are individuals who engage in rhetorical exercises, but there are also people who offer their expertise and constructive efforts.

In general, the job of conferences is not to set forth details. Rather, they should be concerned with defining the main subjects and issues and leave details to the specialists.

If there are some who use rhetorical language, do not blame them. Look for the underlying reasons. You will find that they only speak according to their society and region. This is the missing link. They are speaking for a society whose craft is words and whose discourse therefore emerges as words without action. Some of them used to review the conference's recommendations to see whether or not they accorded with the policy of their region. This indicates the restriction that puts scholars into the regional view. Calling for a community therefore requires a tremendous effort.

Regional Affiliations

[AQIDATI] Although our religion is one in its fundamentals, principles, and teachings, fragmentation and division have affected Islamic scholars. Their disagreement leaves a bad impression about Islam. Has the relationship between Islamic scholars and rulers contributed to this fragmentation and division?

[Marzuq] Islam is Islam. There is an unlimited basis for agreement—the fundamental principles on which we agree. In this context, Shiites, Sunnis, and other sects are Muslims. My concern now is that Islamic scholars free themselves from their regional affiliations and think for Islam. I wish that everyone who gives a formal legal opinion on a particular matter would do so for the sake of God and Islam and not direct his fatwa to the benefit of a particular regime or government. An example of this was the dispute over the Gulf war. The proper judgment on it was clear, namely: "If two parties of the believers fight, put things right between them. Then, if one of them is insolent against the other, fight the insolent one till it reverts to God's commandment" [Koran 49:9]. However, what occurred was quite different: each group affiliated itself with its government in its judgment, and so they divided into two groups. This stand by Islamic scholars tore the community apart even more.

As for the relationship between Islamic scholars and rulers, the scholar ought to make known the word of God and fear no one's reproof. Concerning this problem we say that we want a scholar who desires no gain from the ruler, one like al-'Izz Bin-'Abd-al-Salam, who leaves the narrow regional domain for the domain of the community when he thinks or gives a fatwa or advice. An example is the bank issue, with the disagreements it provokes. Some brothers in the Gulf countries adopt one particular line; others adopt another line. The reason for the gap is that each has been concerned with the conclusion and has neglected the reason. The conclusion is that usury is sinful. No one dares say the opposite. However, let us talk about the need that forces a state or individual to engage in usury. One has to discuss the issue of wealth and social justice in the Islamic state and the issue of a unified Islamic community where passports and borders disappear, so that if you cannot make a living in Cairo for example, you go somewhere else within Islam and under its banner. Current reality, however, imposes this division.

My heart is torn when I consider that we number over a billion Muslims, yet have no control over the world. Indeed, we have no control over ourselves. Isn't this a disgrace?

All the destinies of the Islamic community are fashioned outside the lands of Islam, and we are to blame for it. Even worse, we ourselves have become an encumbrance to Islam because of our misunderstanding of Islam and our un-Islamic behavior. As a result, others ascribe terrorism, extremism, rigidity, and backwardness to us. Islam is innocent of all this, but it alone pays the bill for these mistakes.

Secularists' Illusions

[AQIDATI] The major figures of Islamic thought who advocate the Islamic way as the best solution for our problems are being criticized. Some people say they are talking about imaginary solutions—they have no definite models and differ among themselves about solutions and formulas.

[Marzuq] I admit that there are disagreements among the major figures of the Islamic current, but they are differences in details, not in fundamentals and general principles.

The charge that the solutions are imaginary is wrong. A state based on an Islamic point of view is possible, provided that one offers an enlightened, moderate point of view.

The prohibited thing to be feared is what comes from abroad from those who fear Islam's having a state, substance, and authority.

The issue that causes disagreement is whether the ruler is to be the faqih (Islamic jurist) or a man qualified for the task, even if he is not an Islamic jurist.

The secularists think that when we call for an Islamic state, it will be ruled by Shaykh So-and-so or Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman. That is a terrible mistake, because, as the books of Islamic law and Islamic governance state, the ruler should be a man qualified for the task, as long as he understands the interests of the Islamic community.

No leading figure of the enlightened Islamic current thinks the ruler in the Islamic state should be a shaykh as in Iran. Certainly, none of the enlightened Islamic figures in Egypt thinks so.

The only solution is to restore the concept of the Islamic community, its unity, and the effective formula for relations among the leaders of the community.

Intellectual Meetings

[AQIDATI] The council-organized intellectual meetings in the Mosque of al-Husayn during Ramadan have been described as one-sided. Those attending have been said not to be interested in all sides of the debate.

[Marzuq] The Islamic get-togethers are a good activity. They are a kind of innovative practice of democracy, because we bring discussion or debate of a particular issue to the grass roots. If the practice becomes widespread, it could give citizens a kind of democratic practice.

For example, when the "girl from al-'Atabah" incident occurred, the questions to the assistant interior minister were extremely frank, saying that officials had been negligent. It was the same at the meeting with the minister of education this year concerning the problem of the female students in the school in al-Qalyubiyah.

This encourages orderly discussion and sound practice among individuals.

We print these meetings so that they can be a source of ideas. We are now preparing to bring these meetings to all the governorates for a period of two or three days. We will choose religious occasions for holding them. We will show the true image of Islam to young people, who are asking about beards or traditional dress, leaving aside the major issues such as our daily bread. We import four out of every five loaves we eat. That is why our destinies will remain under the control of others. Discussing such issues wakens in the audience the faculty of discriminating between the trivial and the valuable.

Islam and the Secularists

[AQIDATI] The struggle between secular and Islamic currents continues. Are opportunities available for the partisans of both currents to express their opinions and ideas?

[Marzuq] Unfortunately, the voice of the secular current is rather loud now. If the secular current is finding people to listen to it, this does not mean that those who represent the enlightened Islamic current have been obliterated or adjudged failures. The problem is that the secular current is finding a forum that the enlightened Islamic current does not find in all the information media, especially under recent conditions created by the mistakes of some who associate themselves with Islam. For example, the murder of Faraj Fudah—whoever it is, in the end the debate between him and me must take place by argument and thought, not by killing him; for by killing him I harm the very Islam with which I am affiliated.

All major figures of enlightened Islamic thought reject such behavior and such methods.

The adherents of secularism do not know Islam. Because they do not know it, they are hostile to it. Most of their information about Islam is backward. Islam has contributed as a civilization to economics, politics, thought, science, and all fields. They, however, imagine that Islam only means growing a beard, wearing traditional dress, and forbidding smoking. That is not Islam. Islam is a religion and polity. It concerns this world and the next.

So I call on the secularists to study Islam well. All the future-oriented or progressive ideas they seek can be found in Islam. If the behavior of some who claim affiliation with Islam contradicts these ideas, the fault is not Islam's but belongs to those who claim affiliation with it.

Mistaken Way

[AQIDATI] Islam has recently become a target for attack. Some people have attempted to oppose the phenomenon of religiousness in the name of opposing extremism. There have been intensive Western media attacks to frighten people about Islam and its law. How has this affected the general image of Islam in our societies?

[Marzuq] To those who are trying to frighten people away from Islam I say frankly that this way produces the direct opposite of what you want. When the neutral citizen who belongs to no orientation senses that all the bad charges are being attached to Islam when Islam itself is innocent of them, he will automatically sympathize with those who are being persecuted, particularly when most of the charges are specious.

In my opinion, the problem of young people is primarily economic. How do you imagine the psychological attitude of a young graduate who has not worked up to 10 years? The social system as a whole, not the scholar or thinker, is responsible for this crisis—in addition to the provocations that the information media broadcast. In the "girl from al-'Atabah" incident, she was said to have been waiting for Bus Line 17, which comes every three hours. At the same time a young person reads a news report that 250 Egyptians have Phantom cars costing 1.5 million. How can that be?

So the young person becomes ready to kill for money, which leads him to extremism and terrorism. Also, Islamic culture is absent from higher and earlier education, even though this subject creates social ties.

If these problems are solved, I defy there to be any extremist youth.

This is what became clear in the case of the New York explosions. Can anyone believe that the suspect returned to the car rental agency the next day to get back \$400, while in court his defense presents his readiness to pay \$5 million bail for the accused? This makes it clear that the charges were trumped up. Their purpose is to distort the image of Islam in one way or another.

What happened in Tahrir Square, too, is a new message of a new kind that says, "We are not children who open fire on a moving bus; we are here in the heart of Cairo." This is the style of top-level intelligence agencies. It is planned to strike at Egypt's stability and subject its economy to violent crises in an attempt to make the regime submit, so that it cannot take a stand on the international scene.

There are domestic examples that talk day and night about sectarian strife and search for sectarian disputes in the books of Arabic classical literature. Is this a sound method?

I say that the Egyptian is inwardly a believer and will remain so. Egypt will not become secular, even if the secularists climb the minarets.

If Muslim or other peoples are ever compelled to secularism, it will be a temporary stage that will pass. This was the case with the Islamic countries that were crushed under communist rule for 70 years. As soon as they were given the opportunity, they returned in haste to Islam. Man is religious by nature. Piety has been in the Egyptian's nature for 7,000 years. The pyramids were built and the art of embalming came to be on this religious foundation. Egypt—especially Egypt—will remain religious even if the whole world becomes secular.

It would be better for us to profit from this religious orientation without extremism, corruption, and narrowness of horizon.

Former Interior Minister on MB, 'Abd-al-Rahman
93LD0009A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
29 Mar 93 p 11

[Article by Major General Hasan Abu-Basha, former interior minister: "Is United States Helping Radicals in Egypt; Are Muslim Brothers Planning for Coup?"]

[Text] ROSE AL-YUSUF asked former Interior Minister Major General Hasan Abu-Basha several questions about U.S. help to radicals in Egypt and he agreed to write the answers in this exclusive article for us:

Many think that the United States has aided radicals in Egypt in one way or another and they wonder: Is the United States sponsoring 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, Jihad's blind leader, and has it helped him? Is it making him a star the way the late Imam Khomeyni, the man who sparked off Iran's revolution, was made a star?

The fact is that these questions are groundless, especially since they are phrased as if they are close to the truth and uttered as if they reaffirm something certain.

When I consider this matter, I am extremely careful not to confuse the United States as an official institution with the United States as the U.S. media. The first is a government with its tactics and strategy and the second is an institution that has found in 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman a figure fit for media sensationalism which attracts both readers and viewers, especially since this man makes provocative statements and threatens and attacks the Egyptian Government, thus attracting the attention of many. For an example, we have his latest interview with CNN.

Here, I would also like to draw attention to the fact that the most that a foreign country can do for an underground organization at home will not exceed supporting

it with some money in various ways, in addition to smuggling in some weapons for it.

In this context, a number of people ask me if there is Jewish infiltration of radical organizations in Egypt so as to create domestic confusion, thus weakening the government generally in the interest of a certain state in the region.

Here, too, and keeping in mind that I do not possess up to date information because I have been out of my position as interior minister for years, I make a distinction between interest and infiltration. I believe that there are agencies, regardless of what country they belong to, that are interested in learning about the radical groups in Egypt and about the degree of their current and future influence on the government and its identity.

They also ask me about how much power and influence do Jihad's leaders abroad have over those who are at home. I say that these individuals are organization members who fled to far away countries, such as those who live in Peshawar, Pakistan, at present. This gives them the ability to contact various states. But I doubt that they have any major role in the domestic activity.

Many of those who have fears of U.S. aid or aid by some western parties for Egypt's radical always recall the example of Khomeyni who lived in France before returning to Iran. They compare the revolution exported by cassette from Paris to Tehran, when tapes carried fiery speeches which incited Iranian cities, with 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman's tapes that are smuggled from New Jersey to various mosques in Cairo.

Here, too, I make a distinction between two models, each of which has special characteristics. Khomeyni, Iran's departed imam, was a clergyman who could transform himself into a popular leader by virtue of his status in the Shiite sect, keeping in mind the political features that go with this status and that cannot exist in a non-Shiite country.

As for 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, he is an important man in Jihad's international organization, which is known in Egypt as an underground entity that is responsible for terrorist acts that claim innocent lives, cause concern among ordinary citizens, and shake security. Consequently, the blind shaykh who lives in the United States currently does not have a popular base that enables him to do anything, especially since Egypt is a Sunni country, which, unlike a Shiite country, acknowledges the jurist-prudent, but not the clergyman.

However, in response to the questions, I say again that it is not right to attribute the causes of terrorism and radicalism to foreign elements, and it is not right to hang our problems on the Americans' hanger. Contrary to what we imagine, the United States does not support radicalism. We ourselves are the ones who do it. We are the ones who promote and help radicalism.

The domestic climate produces radicalism and provides the opportunities for its growth. There are numerous social gaps because of the unemployment problems, the economic difficulties, and the increasing numbers of the poor. There are gaps in the media, especially in the television programs that are not compatible with the country's natural position. These programs are dangerous, and I wouldn't be exaggerating if I said that excessive rejection rates prepare the soil for the birth of new radicals. Rather, some of these programs, which are totally incompatible with the prevailing general climate, help nurture those who try to plant the seeds of a rebellion in Egypt and promote the spirit of wrath and of instigation against the government and the regime.

We promote radicalism when we create these immense gaps in the political aspect. How could terrorism not surface when our parties keep the arena totally void of any effective activity and when they live in a state about which the least that can be said is that it is a state of "political idiocy"? It is as if they are the parties of a country in Mars. They offer meaningless programs; they are not interested in the citizen's issues, and they do not know what the citizens dreams or aspirations are. In this regard, they are no less culpable for aiding terrorism, in a negative way, than those who aid it with weapons or money.

Within this context, some see that the solution will not come by way of the police, and I support this opinion. The security agency's task is to prevent deviation from the law and to confront violence and crime. However, the crux of the issue continues to be the political and intellectual void we are experiencing at the general popular level. The police will not solve the housing problem, will not employ millions of unemployed youth, and will not push the parties to exercise their influence and to mobilize the citizens in an arena that is abandoned to whomever wishes to prove his presence and display his muscle.

O people, the bells are ringing loudly and deafeningly and the danger is coming. We have to pay attention to the fire which is hidden under the ashes and which needs only a spark. Hasn't anybody paid attention to what happened in Qalyub when a female teacher was transferred and three students were suspended for several days? The entire city came out to burn and to destroy. Doesn't this mean anything?

This is what motivates me to say that we need a comprehensive process to revive hope among the people so they will feel that there is a possibility for change and for easing the crisis. The government, the parties, and the intellectuals shoulder the responsibility of such things. There has to be a national plan that moves from the phase of words to the phase of deeds so we will unite the people anew. At the same time, we need a committee composed of all of society's elements to explain the dangers entailed in a radical regime and the catastrophes awaiting Egypt should such a regime materialize.

I wish to remind you of what we did in the past when confronted with the possibilities of an extraordinary flooding of the Nile. We all united as a nation aware of the danger. Now, we are confronting a flood with dams abounding with gaps on every side. We must mend all this.

But I will not conclude this article, which has tried to answer several questions, without underlining an important point regarding the Muslim Brotherhood's position on the current developments. It is as if I am pointing to internal aid given to radicalism.

Why doesn't the Muslim Brotherhood, through its presence in the Labor Party, prove that it is opposed to terrorist acts and to coup-oriented behavior, even if it needs 10 years of movement to prove this point, considering that the MB has its political role and its propaganda influence? Such a step will strengthen the democratic march in a sound way.

I wonder: Why doesn't the MB try to prove that it is eager for the democratic march, party plurality, and legitimacy? Why does the MB seem to be largely negative, keeping in mind that it practiced terrorism in the past and realized that it is futile? Where is the MB's positive role vis-a-vis the crimes that are repeated every day?

The MB's current position casts shadows on its strategic vision of democratic action in the future. The MB has to provide decisive answers to intellectuals who think that MB is interested in the flaw developing currently and that it believes this flaw will move it closer to its final goal of attaining power.

The MB has to prove that it is politically honest and that it is eager for legitimacy within the framework of the law so we will close the door in the face of coups which open the gate to the unknown, regardless of what those who scheme something or the other believe.

Military Magazine Discusses Islam, Terrorism

93LD0009C Cairo AL-NASR in Arabic
1 Apr 93 pp 26-27

[Article by Ashraf 'Amir: "Divine Religions Proscribe Terrorism"]

[Text] We do not think that any Egyptian citizen, regardless of his position on the political map, could condone the cowardly act that was perpetrated in the center of al-Tahrir Square. We do not believe there is a single citizen living in this country who was not stirred profoundly while following details of the criminal act which inflicted more than 20 casualties among citizens and foreign visitors.

I am confident that the hands soiled with the blood of the innocent and all those who plotted this cowardly act and other terrorist crimes are not true Egyptians and do not deserve the honor of belonging to this great country.

Moreover, they are not Muslims, and it is not right to affiliate them with this orthodox, tolerant, and noble religion.

Terrifying the peaceful and killing the innocent, regardless of their citizenship, has nothing to do with Islam. Attacking people's property and sanctities has nothing to do with Islam. Endeavors to strike the national economy and to launch war on people's sources of livelihood have nothing to do with Islam. What is worse is the commission of such crimes in this eminent and noble month of Ramadan and throughout the holy months that have been honored by the Lord, may He be praised and exalted, and in which He has prohibited war, not to mention killing and assassinating innocent and peaceful people! But what can we say? Is logic or wisdom any use with the "devil's party?"

In an interview with the WASHINGTON POST, President Mubarak has emphasized that since ancient times, the Egyptian people have been well-known for being religious by nature and that the true essence of Islam is tolerance and the renunciation of violence. Therefore, the Egyptian people are fully aware that these radicals are terrorists who have no connection with religion. Hence, and because the Egyptian people are religious, all our laws adhere to the provisions of the shari'ah and emanate from it. But these terrorists are constantly engaged in oneupmanship in this regard. The majority of the Egyptian people from all sects have proven recently that they renounce radicalism and terrorism. This is why the Egyptian people are the main support of the security agencies and officials in besieging and exposing these terrorists. The people cling to their unity and are eager for it. The Muslim, the Christian, and the Jew have lived in utter peace in Egypt since the dawn of history, and they will always continue to live so.

This is what President Mubarak has clarified and reiterated. What the president always emphasizes is that Islam is innocent of violence, radicalism, and terrorism. He has also made it clear that radicalism and terrorism have become very much like a plague spread throughout the world. However, the media focus their attention on Egypt and the Islamic world.

In light of this total lucidity and of the political leadership's comprehensive clarification of the acts of violence and terrorism, we have interviewed religious ulema and Islamic leaders.

To start, His Eminence Shaykh Jad-al-Haqq 'Ali Jad-al-Haqq, the grand imam and the rector of al-Azhar, has asserted that the acts which radical groups carry out under the guise of religion cannot be a part of the Muslim community. It is required to confront these groups and the terrorism they spread in society. They must be isolated from society completely, and should be advised and guided with gentle words.

The shaykh also said that accusing the government of infidelity is an injustice, that Egypt is a most religious country, that its rulers are Muslims, that it is a duty to

apply the Islamic shari'ah, and that the shari'ah is present in all the (supporting?) restrictions and provisions. Whoever has declared Egypt or its governments infidel must repent to God and ask Him to forgive him his sin. Else, such a person is a sinner who persists in his sin.

Concluding, the rector of al-Azhar urged society in its entirety to work to isolate these groups that have strayed far from the march of work, development, and production.

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
5 Apr 93 p 29

Patience has its limits!!



His Eminence Dr. Sayyid Tantawi, the mufti, has denounced strongly this criminal action which emanates only from a person who has no ethics, religion, dignity, or humanity. He has asked: How could these saboteurs fight the government by fighting children and women?

The mufti stressed that no divine religion condones such acts and that this act is an act of cowardice and of hatred for the country and that its perpetrators seek to destabilize the country.

He added, "We welcome disagreement in opinion but such disagreement must not reach the extent of using means to destroy the nation and attack its dignity."

The mufti of the republic urged all the people's factions to confront these acts positively, which is what Islam demands. He also urged that we all work for the public interest, without regard for private interests, stressing that we must all rise to protect the country's security and stability.

His eminence Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, the awqaf [religious trusts] minister, he noted that after years of well-studied scientific effort and activity among the youth with their various cultural and educational levels,

it has become certain that a few among them have actually been drawn into the maelstrom of radicalism, have closed their minds and hearts to the right direction, and have fallen in the pit of war against their own country, thus becoming a burden to all government institutions, and even a burden to their families. The time has come to protect the other youth, who are the majority.

The awqaf minister stressed that all the Egyptian people are required to abandon their negativism and to act positively to confront the few youth who distort the image of the true religion and who propagate a number of devious and misleading ideas which have resulted in the current confrontations between these youth and the country's various institutions and agencies and between them and the rest of the public.

Dr. Mahjub noted that Islamic awakening does not mean that some youth install themselves as preachers, rulers, and judges because religion is preached with wisdom and gentleness and not imposed by violence and coercion. He also noted that straying from religion is rejected and that radicalism in the name of religion is rejected, and so is taking religion's dictates to extremes.

The minister said, "The masses are required to protect Egypt's reputation and economy and to confront every agent and traitor who executes the policy of Egypt's enemies."

His Eminence Shaykh 'Atiyah Saqr, chairman of al-Azhar's Legal Opinions Committee, has said, "We must entrench faith. Islam is man's relationship with his God through prayer, with himself through the intellect and piety, and with his society through cooperation and unity. These are complete relations that lead to goodness and righteousness."

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